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INVENTORIES

OF

THE WARDROBES, PLATE, CHAPEL STUFF, ETC.

OF

HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND,

AND OF

THE WARDROBE STUFF AT BAYNARD'S CASTLE

OF

KATHARINE, PRINCESS DOWAGER.

EDITED, WITH A

MEMOIR AND LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,

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PREFACE.

THE two following documents tend to illustrate the domestic history of the English court and royal family at a period of external state and magnificence which has never been surpassed, and when the gratification of personal expenditure was scarcely limited or restrained by any considerations of financial economy. The same love of pomp and splendour actuated both monarch and minister when Henry sat at the prow, and Wolsey at the helm. These were the days of the Field of Cloth of Gold; and when the taste of Holbein and other accomplished artists was exercised in making designs for arms and armour, for jewellery, and domestic furniture.

Of such matters a brief glimpse will be afforded by the present Inventories, to which the Editor has ventured to draw the attention of the Camden Society, with the view of making a contribution to the materials of the third volume of their Miscellany.

It would, however, be a great omission to neglect the present opportunity to state that ample materials exist for the fuller illustration of the art-treasures of the sixteenth century, contained in three ponderous leiger-books which still commemorate all the vast accumulation of personal property which belonged to the Crown at the death of Henry VIII.

Two of these are classed together under No. 1419 of the Harleian Collection of manuscripts: in which the furniture preserved in all the royal palaces or other store-houses at the death of Henry VIII. is circumstantially described.

The third, a corresponding, volume is now in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of London (MSS. No. 129), to which it was presented by Gustavus Brander, esq. It contains an equally particular "Inventory of the Juelles, Plate, Stuff, Ordenaunce, Munition, and other goods belonging to our late Sovereign Lord King Henry theight," with some other accompts during the early years of his successor.

Among the very valuable manuscript collections, especially in relation to this period (the spoils of the cabinets of Wolsey and Cromwell), which have been removed from the Chapter House at Westminster to the custody of the Master of the Rolls (and are now deposited in the new Record Office in Chancery Lane), are three* volumes (A. v. 16, 17, 18) of "The Kyngis boke of Paymentes," extending from 21 Hen. VII. to 12 Hen. VIII. The expenses of the first four years of Henry VIII. (a modern transcript in the MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 7100) are derived from this source.

It will be remembered that the late Sir Harris Nicolas edited in 1827, in 8vo., *The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII. from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532*. The original MS. of these accompts belonged to Mr. Pickering the publisher, and at the recent sale of his property was purchased for the British Museum, where it is now the Additional MS. 20,030.

A volume of the king's privy-purse expenses from 1510 to 1518

* Sir N. H. Nicolas, in his preface to the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII.* mentions a fourth corresponding volume called *A Book of Arrears of the 14th Henry VIII, 1522-3*; but this does not now accompany the others, with which it was probably unconnected. There is, at the Rolls, a volume of that date (14 Hen. VIII.), being a book of Sir Henry Wyat, treasurer of the King's chamber, of money paid into his hands by the treasurers of the several shires (A. v. 21).

is now in the possession of H. B. Ray, Esq.;* and a household book of Henry VIII. extending from Sept. 1543 to Oct. 1544, is in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. at Middle Hill.†

A book of payments of the treasurer of the household from 29 to 33 Hen. VIII. is in the Arundel MSS. at the British Museum, No. 97.

A wardrobe book of 3 Hen. VIII. is also extant.‡

A warrant for the payment of a long Wardrobe account, dated 28th June, 27 Henry VIII. (1535) was communicated from the Augmentation Office by Mr. Caley to the Society of Antiquaries, and is printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix. pp. 244—252.

In the Rolls Record Office (A. vi. 22) is an account of the Jewel House, 24 Hen. VIII. (1532).

Sir Frederick Madden edited, in 1831, the Privy Purse Accounts of the Princess Mary, extending from Dec. 1536 (with some intermission) to the end of 1542.§ These were derived from the Royal

* From Mr. Craven Ord's sale 1830, lot 1019.

† From Mr. Craven Ord's sale 1829, lot 550. See the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. p. 346.

‡ Craven Ord's sale 1829, lot 549, bought by Thorpe. In the sale of 1830 was also, lot 977, Wardrobe at Windsor, temp. Hen. VIII.

§ Of a somewhat earlier period is the Privy Purse Book of Queen Elizabeth of Yerk, edited, with a Wardrobe Account of King Edward IV., by Sir N. H. Nicolas, in 1830.

Extracts from the Household Book of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, of the 23 Hen. VII. 1507, were edited by Mr. Gage in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. pp. 311-341.

The Household accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton in Norfolk, extending from 1519 to 1578, are published in the same collection, vol. xxv. pp. 411-569; and those of Lord North, from 1575 to 1579, in vol. xix. pp. 283-301.

Inventories of the property of the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, which were seized by the crown in the last year of Henry VIII. are printed in the Appendix to Dr. Nott's *Life of Surrey*, from documents in H. M. office of Land Revenue.

Of some other domestic inventories of the nobility and gentry I have given a brief catalogue in the Introduction to two "Unton Inventories" which I edited in 1841 for the short-lived Berkshire Ashmolean Society.

For the system of government by which such large establishments were maintained reference may be made to the volume of Household Ordinances published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, which contains, in pp. 135-260, the Royal Ordinances made at

MS. in the British Museum, 17 B. XXVIII. There are other accompts of the Princess Mary's expenses among the Rolls records ; viz., of the 12 and 13 Hen. VIII. (A. ii. 22), and of the 15 Hen. VIII. (A. i. 4).

The Privy-purse accompts of Cardinal Wolsey, which are printed in Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, 1781, 8vo., form a further very valuable illustration to the history of this period.

The wealth of those days was often accumulated in "costly apparel" and domestic furniture, in spite of moth and rust, instead of being laid out upon what would now be considered more productive investments. Like "old Signior Gremio," in Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, there was many a man of substance who was prepared to boast, that

——— " my house within the city
Is richly furnished with Plate and Gold ;
Basons and ewers to lave her dainty hands ;
My Hangings all of Tyrian tapestry ;
In ivory coffers I have stuff'd my crowns,
In Cypress chests my Arras, counterpoints,
Costly apparel, tents, and canopies,
Fine linen, Turkey cushions bossed with pearl,
Valance of Venice gold in needle-work,
Pewter and brass, and all things that belong
To house, or housekeeping "

In the introductory Memoir of Henry FitzRoy, Duke of Rich-

Eltham in 1512, with various supplements added in subsequent years ; to the Northumberland Household Book, also dated 1512, which was edited by Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, and reprinted by Pickering in 1827 ; to the Household Book of the Earl of Arundel, contained in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, 1808, vol. ii. pp. 184-209 ; and to that of Anthony Viscount Montagu, in 1595, recently edited by Sir Sibbald David Scott in the seventh volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*.

Among the MSS. of the Royal Society, No. 61 contains Orders for the royal household in 9 Hen. VIII.

mond, I have collected together, from various quarters, every available evidence that tended to illustrate his history : and I have found these materials much more ample than, from the scanty notices that had hitherto appeared respecting him, I could have anticipated. It is remarkable, however, that they are less satisfactory for the latter than the earlier years of his life. This circumstance is probably accidental, as from all we know he appears to have continued to occupy a large place in the affection of his royal father, who at that time had no other son. It is not stated where the bulk of the duke's moveable property was lying when the Inventory was taken ; nor do we know which was his principal residence, after he left Sheriff Hutton and came southward. In the metropolis, after having for some years had a residence at Durham-place, in the Strand, he appears to have received a grant of the castellated mansion of Baynard's Castle ;* but his death took place in St. James's Palace. At the time of his decease the principal furniture of his chapel, and other things, were at Tonges, by which name I believe to be implied a manor-house near Sittingbourn in Kent.† It was at Sittingbourn that the king received the news of his loss.‡

The Second Inventory describes certain property of Katharine of Arragon, remaining after her decease at Baynard's Castle,§ in the

* See hereafter, p. xvii., note.

† Hasted states that the manor of Tong, near Sittingbourn, on the death of Cecily duchess of York, 10 Hen. VII., came to the Crown, where it continued till Edward VI. granted it to sir Ralph Fane.—History of Kent, ii. 604.

‡ See page lxvii., note.

§ Baynard's Castle, situate on the Thames bank, near St. Paul's Cathedral, was one of the principal mansions in the city of London, and, until the palace of Bridewell was formed by Henry VIII. from the buildings of the monastery of Blackfriars, it probably ranked next in importance to the Tower of London. Many memorable events in our national history are connected with its name. During the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III.

city of London. It includes some articles which had probably been part of the furniture of that mansion for many years before, when it was occupied by some of the family of the royal line of York. The hangings of Verdours, ensigned with the badge of the Falcon and Fetter-lock and that of the Rose and Sun, which are described in page 25, were evidently of the time of Edward IV.

The degraded queen, then designated as "Princess dowager" only, died at Kimbolton Castle * on the 8th Jan. 1536-7; and the present Inventory was taken five weeks after. In the Gentleman's Magazine (Dec. 1854, and May 1855), has recently been published a catalogue of the Plate which at the same period remained in the possession of the Queen: presenting, like the document now printed, an interesting record of her fallen fortunes.

Baynard's Castle was the town house of their mother the duchess of York. Soon after the present period it was leased to the Pembroke family; and it was from its walls that the privy counsellors opposed to John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, proceeded into Cheapside to terminate the brief reign of Queen Jane, and proclaim the inauguration of that of Queen Mary.

* The following passage occurs at the close of Miss Strickland's *Life of Queen Katharine*:—"The chamber hung with tapestry, in which Katharine of Arragon expired, is to this day shown at Kimbolton Castle; the tapestry covers a little door leading to a closet still called by her name. One of her travelling portmanteaus has remained at Kimbolton ever since her sad removal from Bugden. It is covered with scarlet velvet, and the Queen's initials, K. R. with the regal crown, are conspicuous on the lid; there are two drawers beneath the trunk." Miss Strickland has not made acquaintance with the present Inventory.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

“ You shall understande, (writes the chronicler Hall,) the Kyng in his freshe youth was in the cheynes of love with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to sir John Blount knight, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and all goodly pastymes exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes she wan the kinges harte: and she again shewed hym suche favour, that by hym she bare a goodly manne child, of beantie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought up, like a Prince's child, and when he was .vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry FitzRoy, and on Sondaie the .xviii. daie of June, at the manor or place of Bridewelle, thesaied lorde ledde by twoo erles was created Erle of Nottingham, and then he was brought backe again by thesaied twoo erles: then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk led hym into the great chambre again, and the kyng created hym Duke of Richmond and Somerset and at these creations were kept greate feastes and disguisynge.

“ After this the cardinall (Wolsey) toke upon him, as the kynges chief counsailer, to se a reformation in the ordre of the kinges housholde, wherein he made certain ordinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, whiche was then newly begon.”*

Henry FitzRoy being six years of age when created duke of Richmond, his birth must have taken place in the year 1519. “ He was born (we are

* Hall's Union of York and Lancaster 1548, AAA .iiij. b.

told) in the manor place of Blackmore in Essex: it was the prior's house of Blackmore,*—*i. e.* Blackmore, about seven miles from Chelmsford.

Of the personal history of his mother scarcely anything is known, beyond the facts of her parentage and her two marriages. With regard to the former, all our genealogists have been content to style her the daughter of sir John Blount, without identifying the branch of that wide-spreading family from which she was sprung. The epitaph of her first husband shews him to have been sir John Blount of Kynlet in Shropshire, and the pedigree of Blount of Kynlet describes her mother as having been Katharine, daughter and coheir of Hugh Peshall of Staffordshire. She had several brothers and sisters, but their alliances were not with names of high distinction,† or which intimate any particular connection with the Court.

* Stowe's Chronicle, 1615, p. 526. In a later author I find the following, whether founded on better evidence than mere local tradition I have not been able to ascertain: "This is reported to have been one of King Henry the Eighth's Houses of Pleasure; and disguised by the name of *Jericho*. So that when this lascivious Prince had a mind to be *lost* in the embraces of his courtisans, the cant word among the courtiers was, that He was gone *to Jericho*." (Morant's History of Essex, 1768, ii. 57.) The Rev. Alfred Suckling, in his Essex collections, says "Adjoining the north side of the churchyard a respectable mansion belonging to the family of Preston occupies the site of an ancient house of pleasure, possessed by Henry the Eighth. It is still distinguished by its former name of *Jericho*." (Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture, 1845, iii. 27.)

The priory of Blackmore, of Augustinian canons, was one of the small monasteries dissolved by Wolsey in 1525 for the foundation of his colleges.

In searching the patent rolls of Henry VIII. I have met with the following record relative to this place, which may be thought not inappropriate here. It proves at any rate that the name of *Jericho* existed in the reign of Henry VIII., if not before. 18 Feb. 20 Hen. VIII. (1528-9). Lease by the advice of John Daunce knt. and John Hales to John Smyth of Blackmore, Essex, gent. of the site and mansion of the manor or lordship of Blackmore and the rectory of Blackmore, with all demesne lands &c. *a tenement called Jerico*, and another called "*le Herdewyke*" situated on the said demesne lands, &c. with reservations: for the term of 21 years, at the annual rent of 25*l.* This patent is to confirm the estate which the said John Smyth has in the premises by reason of a similar term granted to him by an indenture made between master William Capon, S.T.P. the first dean and the fellows of Cardinal's college, Ipswich. (MS. Calendar of the Patent Rolls.)

† The sons were, Sir George, Henry, and William; the daughters, Rose, married to William Grisling, of Lincolnshire; Alhora; Agnes, married to Rowland Lacon; Isabella, to William Read; and Elizabeth, lady Tailboys. Sir George Blount married Constance, a daughter of sir John Talbot, and died in 1582, leaving Dorothy his only daughter and heir, married 1. to John Purslow, of Sudbury, co. Salop, and 2. to Edward Bullock, of Bradeley

Her grandfather, Thomas Blount, of Kynlet, who married Anne daughter of sir Richard Croft, was living until the year 1523: at which time her father was only forty years old. This clearly shews that it was at a very early age that the beauty of mistress Elizabeth Blount attracted the regard of king Henry. Shortly after the birth of the duke of Richmond * she was married to Gilbert Taylboys, son of sir George Taylboys, of Kyme in the county of Lincoln, the representative of the ancient baronial family of Kyme, and of the Umphravilles sometime earls of Angus, who were commonly styled earls of Kyme. In the year 1529 sir Gilbert (being then stepfather to the duke of Richmond) was summoned to parliament; but he died in the following year,† having had issue two sons, George and Robert, who both died before him, and one daughter, Elizabeth, who was married first to Thomas Wymbish esquire, of Nocton in Lincolnshire, and secondly to lord Ambrose Dudley, afterwards earl of Warwick. In her right as by courtesy Mr. Wymbish claimed the dignity of a baron, but it was refused him, on the ground that he had no children by the heiress.‡

near Wenlock. (Visitation Salop. in Coll. Arm. Vincent 134; and Blakeway's Sheriffs of Shropshire, fol. 1831, p. 89.)

* It is a common error in the brief notices that have been published of the duke of Richmond (originating with Glover's collections, as cited by Dugdale in his *Baronage*) to describe his mother as the *widow* of sir Gilbert Taylboys at the time of his birth. Her first marriage probably took place in or shortly before 1523, when an act of parliament was passed in her favour in the session of 14-15 Hen. VIII. It sets forth that Gilbert, son and heir apparent of sir George Taylboys knight, had married and taken to his wife Elizabeth daughter of John Blount esquier, "by which mariage aswell the said sir George Taylboys knyght as the said Gilbert Taylboys have receyved not alonely great summes of money, but also many benyfittes to their right mych comforte." It then assures to the said Elizabeth a life estate in sir George Taylboys' houses, lands, &c. in the city of Lincoln, the manors of Skeldyngthorpe, Bamburgh, Freskeny, Sothy, and Faldyngworth, co. Linc.; Newton Kyme and Hesylye, co. York; and Yevilton, co. Somerset. Statutes of the Realm, fol. 1817, iii. 280.

† In the church of South Kyme (as we learn from the collections of Gervase Hollis) there is, or was, a *tumulus marmoreus are fixus*, recording that "Gilbert lord Tailboys lord of Kyme married Elizabeth the daughter of Sr John Blount of Kinlet in Shropshire, Knt., and died 15^o April An^o 1530." There were also these armorial insignia: 1. Argent, a saltire and on a chief or three escallops of the first, Tailboys; Crest, a bull's head couped. 2. Nebuly of six pieces, or and sable, Blount. 3. Party per pale gules and azure, a bull passant argent. (MS. Harl. 6829, f. 247.)

‡ See Nicolas's *Synopsis of the Peerage*, Introduction, p. 1v.

The lady Tailboys was remarried to Edward lord Clinton, afterwards the first earl of Lincoln, lord high admiral, and a knight of the Garter. This nobleman was only five years old at his father's death in 1517, and consequently must have been many years younger than his first wife, who gave birth to the duke of Richmond in 1519. She lived with lord Clinton to be the mother of three daughters,* but no record of the date of her death has been preserved, nor do we readily gather it from other circumstances in the family of lord Clinton, whose heir and successor was the son of his next wife, Ursula Stourton.

No mention of the name of the lady Tailboys has occurred in connection with the subsequent career of her son the duke of Richmond: nor are any traces of the child during his early years of infancy known to be extant. His royal parentage must have been immediately acknowledged by the king, at least to his great councillor Wolsey, for the cardinal was godfather to the child, as appears from two letters which will be introduced hereafter. The boy was named after his royal father at the baptismal font; and for a surname he received that of FitzRoy, which is said to have been given in England in some earlier times, and particularly to Geoffrey one of the natural sons of king John. The precedent, as is well known, was followed by king Charles II. for his children by Barbara Villiers, and in her posterity this name has now been inherited by a very numerous race.

The first historical notice that has been found of "the lord Henry FitzRoy" is upon his election into the Order of the Garter.† This took place at Windsor on the 7th of June 1525, when there were two vacant stalls. The knights present at the election (who were eight in number) nominated, according to ancient custom, each three princes, three barons, and three knights: and all named the "lord FitzRoy" first of the barons; whereupon the king chose the lord Henry FitzRoy and the lord of Westmerland. When their installation took place on the 25th of the same

* Bridget, married to Robert Dymocke of Scrivelsby; Katharine, to William lord Borough; and Margaret, to Charles lord Willoughby of Parham.

† In a letter of Wolsey to the king, written in May or June, 1525, is this passage: "Your grace also shal receyve by this present berer such armes as your highnes hath divided, by Page (*i. e.* Richard Page, afterwards mentioned as one of the duke of Richmond's counsel,) for your entirely beloved sonne the lord Henry FitzRoy." State Papers, 4to. 1830, f. 161. The arms will be found described hereafter.

month, the former was placed in the second stall on the sovereign's side.*

It was at the same time that preparations were made to advance the king's son to the foremost rank of the peerage—then enjoyed by two persons only, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.† In this and the other great preferments to which the boy was elevated, it is impossible not to suspect that there was some latent intention beyond the ordinary paternal regard natural in such cases, nor to avoid the conclusion that king Henry at this period was entertaining a floating notion that he might hereafter nominate this son to be his successor on the throne, should he in his plenary will and pleasure determine so to do. And if ever in the history of the English Monarchy such a project could have been attempted with any prospect of success, we may, though with difficulty, imagine the possibility of its being carried into effect under the arbitrary rule of him who effected other changes no less extraordinary.‡ It was at a time when Henry had not yet thought of his divorce from

* Anstis, Register of the Garter, ii. 371. The commission to the duke of Norfolk and other knights to install the duke of Richmond, with the earls of Arundel, Westmerland, and Rutland, is printed in the Appendix to Ashmole's History of the Garter, Num. xxiv. "Henry duke of Richemonde and Somerset, elected 23 Aprell and installed 25 June a° 17, first into the ij^d stalle of the Sovereign's [side] by translating of Charles th'emperour, and last to the ij^d of the Prince's syd by translating Thomas duke of Norffolk, and he dyed A° 27 H. 8." (MS. Harl. 304, f. 125 b.) The stall-plate of the duke of Richmond does not now exist, but is represented in Vine. 152 at the College of Arms, as noticed at the close of this Memoir. His arms are still emblazoned on one of the bosses of the roof of St. George's chapel, over the organ gallery. (See Willement's Account of the Restoration of the Collegiate Chapel of St. George, Windsor, 1844. 4to. p. 40.)

† In one of the Venetian Relations of England, which was written in 1531, occurs this passage: "There used to be twelve duchies, but from their disobedience and turbulence the duchies have been annexed to the Crown, excepting three, namely Richmond, who is the Grand Admiral and his Majesty's natural son, and he has an annual income of 10,000 ducats. The second is the Duke of Norfolk," &c.—Relation of Ludovico Faliero, quoted by Miss Strickland in her Life of Queen Anne Boleyn.

‡ I am not aware that this opinion has been expressed by many of our historical writers, but bishop Burnet entertained it, who says, but without citing any proof, that the king "intended afterwards to have put him in the succession of the crown after his other children; but his death prevented it:" and, again, that he endeavoured to marry the princess Mary to France, "the more effectually to seclude her from the succession, considering the aversion his subjects had to a French government, that so he might more

queen Katharine, but when he despaired of further issue from her, his eldest son having died an infant in 1509, the second at his birth in 1514, and a final disappointment having occurred in 1518.* His only living legitimate offspring was the lady Mary, then betrothed to her cousin the emperor Charles V.

When dr. Edward Lee and the bishop of Worcester were on an embassy to the emperor in 1527, they were commissioned to treat of further matrimonial alliances in that quarter, but there was on either side a deficiency of marriageable parties. The emperor, who was once to have wedded his cousin the princess Mary, was now a married man: and the ambassadors, after representing that that princess "draweth now to sufficient age of marriage, if there were any prince of his majesty's [the emperor's] blood worthy to have her in marriage, that the king's highness could be content to bestow her in the affinity of his majesty afore all others; but for bicause his highness knoweth of no such prince unmarried, therefore (they proceeded to intimate that) his highness would be content to study some other good device of marriage between his highness and some noble princess of his majesty's blood and near lineage, and that his highness can be content to bestow the duke of Richmond and Somerset, who is near of his blood, and of excellent qualities, and is already furnished to keep the state of a great prince, and *yet may be easily by the king's means exalted to higher things*, to some noble princess of his near blood, to the more strength and corroboration of amity between them."† This passage plainly intimates that it was once regarded as a possible contingency that Henry VIII. might nominate his only, though illegitimate, son to succeed him on the throne, whilst the lady Mary was married abroad. But more on these matrimonial negociations hereafter.

The titles by which, for the present, he was raised to the highest rank as a peer were those of Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Earl of Nottingham—all dignities which had been previously connected with the blood royal. The first, with the title of Earl, after having been long enjoyed by the counts and dukes of Bretagne, had been sometime held by John of

easily settle his bastard son, the duke of Richmond, in the succession of the crown." History of the Reformation (edit. 1829), i. 18, 74.

* See State Papers, published by the Record Commission, vol. i. pp. 1, 2.

† Letter of Lee to Wolsey, dated 17 April, 1527.

Ghent the fourth son of king Edward III. and by John duke of Bedford the younger son of king Henry IV. By king Henry VI. it was conferred on his half-brother Edmund Tudor, whose son was usually designated by it before his accession to the throne as king Henry VII.; and lastly it had for many years been popularly known and respected as belonging to the dowager countess of Richmond, that monarch's mother. The title of Somerset, which had belonged to the legitimated posterity of John of Ghent, might also be regarded as the king's inheritance independent of the kingdom, for the countess of Richmond had become the heir of the Beauforts, and indeed it was through that descent only that the Tudors were heirs to the house of Lancaster. The same dukedom had been given in 1499 to prince Edmund the third son of king Henry VII., but he had died in his infancy. The earldom of Nottingham had belonged to the Mowbrays, and in right of their inheritance had been one of the dignities of Richard duke of York the younger son of king Edward IV.

The king added further solemnity to the creation of his son by making it the occasion of conferring various other dignities of peerage, and it is remarkable that several of these were also bestowed in recognition of the claims of royal blood. Henry Courtenay earl of Devonshire, the grandson of king Edward IV. through his daughter Katharine, was created Marquess of Exeter, a title which had previously been associated with royalty in the person of king Edward's sister.* Henry Brandon son of the duke of Suffolk by the king's sister Mary, queen dowager of France, was created Earl of Lincoln, like as John de la Pole, who occupied a similar relationship to king Edward IV. had been so created by that monarch in 1467. Sir Thomas Manners lord Roos, the grandson of Anne another of the sisters of king Edward IV., was created Earl of Rutland, which dignity had been one of those enjoyed by the house of York. Besides these, Henry lord Clifford was created Earl of Cumberland (he afterwards married Eleanor Brandon, sister and coheir to the above-named earl of Lincoln); sir Robert Radclyffe lord FitzWalter was created Viscount FitzWalter (he was subsequently, in 1529, the first earl of Sussex); and sir Thomas Boleyn (who became afterwards the king's father-in-law, earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, and the grandfather of queen

* See the curious history of the duchy of Exeter in "Grants, &c. of King Edward V." p. lxx.

Elizabeth,) was created Viscount Rochford. Such were the noble companions of the subject of this memoir in his elevation to the peerage.*

In the patents of Henry FitzRoy's peerages we find the usual exaggerations of the personal merits of the grantee, accompanied by a declaration that he was nearly related to the sovereign, though without admitting that the king was his father. A third patent gave the duke and his heirs precedence before all other dukes already created, or to be created hereafter, those born legitimately of the king's body, or of the bodies of his heirs and successors, alone excepted.†

To maintain the dignity of earl of Nottingham there was assigned in the patent the sum of 20*l.* to be received from the sheriffs of the counties of Nottingham and Derby; and for the dukedom the sum of 40*l.* from the revenues of the counties of York, Somerset, and Dorset. But the king provided more liberally for his son's establishment, by other letters patent and by several acts of parliament. The estates which were settled upon the duke of Richmond and Somerset were a portion of those which had been attached to the same titles in former times. By letters patent dated at the More the 11th Aug. 1525, the king granted to him divers honours, castles, lordships, rents, and hereditaments which had belonged to Edmond late earl of Richmond, John late duke of Somerset, and Margaret late countess of Richmond. The disposition was confirmed by an act of parliament which was passed in 1530-1, and amended in 1534.‡ The estates (which are named in the act) were in the several counties of York, Lincoln, Northampton, Bedford, Cambridge, Hertford, Southampton, Essex, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Kent, Sussex, Gloucester, Westmerland, Derby, Rutland, Worcester, Stafford, Norfolk, Pembroke, Cardigan, with many in North Wales, and also the reversion of the mansion of Coldharbour in the

* The ceremonial of the creation is appended to the present memoir.

† See the three letters patent hereafter.

‡ The first act (22 Hen. VIII. ch. xvii.) is printed in the Statutes of the Realm, 1817, vol. iii. pp. 338—344. Its length is occasioned by the addition of no fewer than forty-three provisos to protect the existing interests of those who had received former grants upon the same estates. It was amended by a subsequent act, passed in 1534, 26 Hen. VIII. ch. xxi. printed *ibid.* p. 525. By other acts passed in 1531-2 and 1533-4, (23 Hen. VIII. ch. xxviii. and 25 Hen. VIII. ch. xxx.) the duke of Richmond exchanged a fee-farm rent of 50*l.* from the town of Waltham with John lord Lumley, for certain manors and lordships in Westmerland and Lancashire. *Ibid.* pp. 409, 487.

city of London after the life of George Earl of Shropshire.* The greater number of manors lay in the counties of Lincoln, Somerset, and Devon. In Northamptonshire he received the manor-house of Colyweston, and in Dorsetshire that of Canford, which had formerly belonged to the earls of Salisbury, with the ancient castle of Corfe. The castle and honour of Richmond itself was not included; but the manors, &c. assigned to the duke were by the second act passed in 1534 declared to be severed from that honour.

Though the duke of Richmond was as yet a mere child, the king's affection was not satisfied until he was further dignified by the great offices of Lord High Admiral, Lieutenant-General North of Trent,† and Warden of all the Marches towards Scotland.

The first of these was conferred upon him by patent, dated the 16th of July, 1525, whereby he was constituted Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne.‡

The office of General Warden of the Marches towards Scotland had been relinquished by the duke of Norfolk in the previous December, and their government had latterly been divided: that of the Western march having been administered by Thomas lord Dacre of the North (who died shortly after this date, on the 24th Oct. 1525), that of the Eastern march by lord Roos (who now, as we have seen, was rewarded by his elevation to the earldom of Rutland), and that of the Middle march by sir William Eure. The duke of Richmond was appointed Warden-general of all the

* By two acts passed in 1536, 28 Hen. VIII. ch. xxxiii. and xxxiv. the king gave to the bishop of Durham the mansion-house of Cold Harbour, sett and leying in Teames strete, in the parish of Allhalowes the less, in exchange for the mansion house of Durham place, in the parish of St. Martin in the field nigh Charing cross; and thereupon the house called Baynard's castle, in the parish of St. Benet Huda, in the city of London, was granted to the duke of Richmond,—evidently in exchange for the mansion of Cold harbour, though not so expressed. The king had, however, previously occupied Durham place, and it was from thence that the duke of Richmond was brought to his creation at Bridewell palace in 1525.

† This office is attributed to him by Lord Herbert of Chirbury, in his History of Henry the Eighth, but I have not met with any documentary evidence of it. It was, perhaps, coincident with that of Warden of the Marches, as the duke of Norfolk, in Oct. 1524, is styled the king's lieutenant in the North parts. (State Papers, iv. 156.)

‡ Pat. 17 Hen. VIII. p. 2. m. 15. This document is printed by Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 42.

marches, whilst the same noblemen continued the effective government of the borders under the designation of deputy wardens or lieutenants.*

The chief administration of affairs in the Northern parts of England was at this period still seated in the county of York, as it had been during the reign of Edward IV., when Richard duke of Gloucester held vice-regal power there, and during the still earlier times when it was considered to belong, as of right, to the dukedom of York. The duke of Richmond, on being appointed to the office, was at once sent to assume the nominal supremacy over the counsels of the North. His journey, however, was made with much deliberation, for altogether it occupied more than a month. An interesting account of its early stages is preserved † in a report which was made to Wolsey by the duke's attendants, when they had travelled so far as Colyweston, near Stamford. It is signed by various members of his council, viz. dr. Brian Higdon, sir William Parre, sir William Bulmer, sir Godfrey Foljambe, sir Thomas Tempest, Thomas Dalby, and William Taite (whose several offices will be shown presently). It states that the cavalcade had proceeded on their journey on Wednesday the 26th of July, by riding from the house of William Jekyll (who resided at Stoke Newington, in Middlesex),‡ unto my lady Parre's,§

* The duke's patent as lord warden is not itself upon record : but it is recited in that of his successor, Henry earl of Northumberland, who was appointed on the 2nd Dec. 1527. It thence appears that it was dated on the 24th July, 1525, and that it appointed him Warden-general of the marches towards Scotland, viz. the Estmarch, Westmarch, and Middlemarch, and in the lordship of Scotland, with powers of array extending to the counties of Cumberland, Westmerland, and Northumberland, for the defence of the said marches, and for the rescue and safe custody of the towns and castles of Berwick and Carlisle in time of danger. The earl of Northumberland's appointment is recorded on the patent roll 19 Hen. VIII. p. 2., m. 2 ; which Sandford, in his *Genealogical History*, cites as authority for his erroneous assertion that the duke of Richmond had his patent in the 19th of Henry VIII. and Dugdale also (ii. 305) mistakes it for " a new patent " to him.

† Wolsey's *Correspondence*, State Paper Office, vol. vi. no. 143, printed in *State Papers*, 4to. 1836 (*Correspondence of Scotland and the Borders*), vol. iv. p. 385.

‡ William Jekyll, ancestor of the Jekylls of Essex, was of Newington in Middlesex, and died in 1522. *Visitation of Essex* 1634.

§ The lady Parre was probably the widow of sir Thomas Parre, who had died on the 12th Nov. 1518, and the mother of Katharine the last wife of Henry VIII. Where her house was I have not ascertained, unless it was at the manor of Hoddesdon (see Clutterbuck's *Hertfordshire*, ii. 59), which was the inheritance of her daughter-in-law Anne, daughter of Henry Bourchier earl of Essex, and wife of William Parre, afterwards mar-

"where his grace was marvelously well intreated, and had good chere. And there the duke of Norffolke tooke his leyf of hym, demaundyng if his grace wolde any thing to the kinges highness."

The next day the young traveller proceeded to Buntingford; on the Friday to Shengay, in Cambridgeshire; and on the Saturday to Huntingdon, where he stayed during the whole of Sunday. Between lady Parre's and Huntingdon no person of all the country met him, save only at Huntingdon doctor Halle met his grace without the town, and upon the bridge the bailiffs, with the honest men of the town, presented unto him four great pykes and four tenches. The abbat of Ramsey sent "certeyn swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle, in a present, and doctour Halle gave his grace wyne, and also unto his counsaill."

On Monday the duke, leaving Huntingdon, went onward to "George Kyrkham's house," and from thence on Tuesday to Colyweston. "And in the way his grace kylded a buk hymself, in the kynges parke called Clyf parke, where Davy Sicile maid his grace and all his folkes right good chere, at the said Davies own cost and charge." This is a remarkable notice of David Cecill, the grandfather of the great Burghley, who had obtained a grant of the keepership of Clyffe Park in 8 Hen. VIII. and the stewardship of the lordship of Colyweston in 15 Hen. VIII.

Whilst the duke remained at Colyweston, which was his own house,* the abbats of Peterborough and Crowland sent to him "certayn goodly presentes of swannes, cranes, and other wyldefowle."

It was from Colyweston that the letter which has afforded these particulars was written, and the council's report of the remainder of the duke's

quess of Northampton. She might possibly, at this early date, have the wardship of that heiress. Sir William Parre, the duke of Richmond's chamberlain, was doubtless the younger brother of sir Thomas; he was afterwards created a baron, by the title of lord Parre of Horton, in the year 1543, when he was chamberlain to his niece queen Katharine.

* The manor house of Colyweston had been rebuilt by the king's grandmother, the countess of Richmond. When Henry VII. married his daughter Margaret to the king of Scots, in 1502, he accompanied her himself as far as Colyweston, and from thence she was conducted by the earl of Northumberland into Scotland. Leland says, "Coly-Weston for the most part is of a new building, by the lady Margaret, mother to king Henry VII. The Lord Cromwell had afore begunne a house there: bagges (*i. e.* badges) of purses yet remayne there yn the chapelle and other places." There were ruins early in the last century, but they had been wholly removed before Bridges wrote his History of Northamptonshire.

progress has not been preserved, but they add that in all the journey so far he "rode nott in his horse-lytter, but only from William Jekylles house a 3 or 4 myles, which ryding in his said horse-lytter his grace liked nothing; but ever sythens his grace hathe ryden upon his hobye, and hathe been very well at ease, and is cumen right merely unto Collewston, thanked be God, and in better case and more lusty of his boddy than his grace was at his first taking of his journeye." Notwithstanding, they reminded the lord cardinal "to send a phisician unto my lordes grace, for the preservation of his person." He was to remain nearly a week at Colyweston, and to start again on his progress towards York on Monday the 7th of August.

After another journey of ten days, he arrived in that city on the 17th of August,* and remained there until the 28th of the same month, when he proceeded to take up his residence at Sheriff Hutton. "And oute of Yorke sir Marmaduke Cunstable, th'eldre and the younger, sir William Cunstable of Hatfeld, and Edward Gowre esquier, with others, attended on his grace, and brought hym on his weye towards Shireflutton." At York the council had been joined by John Uvedale, who had received the appointment of secretary to the duke, and who brought with him from Wolsey "all suche lettres patentes, commissions of oyer determiner, of the peas, and of enquerrey for offices, togidder with the booke of the diettes, the chek roll of my said lorde, and iustruccious signed with the gracious hande of the kinges highnes oure soverain lorde, like as they bee severally conteyned in a papir subscribed with youre (Wolsey's) signe manuell."†

* His arrival at York on the 17th August is noticed in the records of the corporation. It does not appear that he afterwards resided within the city. I am informed by my friend Mr. Davies, the late Town Clerk of York, that the only further notice of the duke of Richmond occurring in the records of the Corporation refers to a correspondence which took place concerning a person in his establishment who had committed an offence within the city jurisdiction, when occasion was taken for requesting that the "rowme and offyce of sword-bearer" should be given to Alan Ary, his grace's servant. But the corporate authorities were not disposed to submit to the duke's patronage. They begged him to "gyf sparyng unto such tyme as the kynges grace and the lord cardenelles grace pleasour might be farther knowne," and, probably for the purpose of preventing any future interference of a similar kind, a grant of the office was made to Henry Fawkes for his life, and he continued in the undisturbed enjoyment of it for upwards of twenty years afterwards. (The Fawkes's of York, by Robert Davies, esq. F.S.A. 1850, p. 11.)

† State Papers, 1836, vol. iv. p. 392.

In a subsequent part of the same letter occurs this passage, "We understande alsoo by the said John Uvedal that the kinges highnes shuld send woorde unto your grace that we shulde make means and desire his highnes to have a Chapell, because the lorde Darcy and the lord Latymer have chapelles,* which thinge we ensure your Grace was never done by us, ner yet spoken of, ner thoughte to be convenyente as yet." They proceed to request that the further consideration of this matter should be deferred, until the duke's household, and the good order of the North parts generally, was more perfectly established. It appears from the ensuing Inventory that at the time of his death the duke of Richmond maintained the establishment of a chapel, and particularly at his manor of Tonges.

When the duke of Richmond was established in his government of the Northern parts, the castle of Sheriff Hutton† was regarded as his own principal residence, but he also occasionally occupied the king's castle of Pontefract. His household was now formed in the amplitude of princely splendour, and we are furnished with the following list of his

* The lord Darcy's residence was Temple hurst, now Temple Newsome, near Leeds; and the lord Latimer's "chief howse," as Leland tells us, was at the "goodly castle" of Snape: see Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, ii. 90.

† The castle of Sheriff Hutton is described by Leland, who remarks that "it was well maintainid by reason that the late duke of Norfolk lay there ten yeres, and sins the duke of Richmond. There is (he says) a base court with houses of office afore the entring of the castelle. The castelle self in the front is not diked, but it stondith *in loco utrinque edito*. I markid yn the fore-front of the first area of the castelle self 3. great and high toures, of the which the gate-house was the middle. In the seconde *area* there be a 5. or 6. toures, and the stately staire up to the haul is very magnificent, and so is the haul itself, and al the residew of the house; in so much that I saw no house in the North so like a princely logginges. There is a park by the castel. From Shirhuten (Leland rode) to York vij. miles, and in the forest of Galtres, wherof 4 miles or more was low medowes and morische ground ful of carres, the residew by better ground, but not very high." Whilst the duke of Norfolk and his family resided at Sheriff Hutton the poet Skelton wrote his "Wreath of Laurel," in which he describes (in general terms) the beauties of the spot: see Skelton's Works, edited by Dyce. On the duke of Norfolk's death, in 1524, it reverted to the crown. The castle was dismantled in the reign of James I. In consequence of the elevation on which it was placed its ruins are visible at a great distance on every side. There is a little book on Sheriff Hutton Castle, by Mr. George Todd, of York, 1824. 8vo.

principal officers, as authorised to act under the sign-manual of Wolsey:—

[From a transcript in MS. Harl. 589, f. 192.]

Offyceres and Counsellors appoynted to bee Resydente and aboute the persone of the Henry FitzRoye, Duke of Richmonde, in the Northe parts.

The numbere of the Chekerolle.

The deane of Yorke, Chauncelore.*

The Arche deacon of Richemonde,† deane of his Chappell and Tresorore of his Chamber. Mr. Magnus,‡ Surveyore and generall Receavore.

Sir William Bullmere,§ Stuard of Houshold.

Sir Godfrey Engleham, (*lege* Fulgeham,||) Tresoror of Houshold.

Sir Thomas Tempest,¶ Comptroler.

Roger Radclyffe, Chamberlan.

Richard Page, Vicechamberlen.

* Brian Higdon, LL.D. was dean of York from 1516 to 1539.

† Thomas Dalby, doctor of decrees, became archdeacon of Richmond in 1506; he was also a prebendary of York, canon of Beverley, and treasurer of archbishop Savage's hospital. He died on the 26th Jan. 1525, and was buried in York cathedral: see in Drake's York or in Willis's Cathedrals his epitaph, in which, in addition to the preceding preferments, he is further styled "capellani et consiliarii illustrissimi regis Henrici vij. et capellani et consiliarii serenissimi regis Henrici viij. et decani capelle illustrissimi principis ducis Richmond et Somersett."

‡ Thomas Magnus was archdeacon of the East riding from 1504 until his death in 1550, and a canon of Windsor from 1520 to 1547. He was buried at Sessay in Yorkshire, where he was rector. See further of him in Wood's Fasti Oxon. (by Bliss), vol. i. col. 53. Many of his letters, written when ambassador in Scotland, are printed in the volumes of the State Papers Commission.

§ Sir William Bulmer, of Wilton in Cleveland, was lieutenant of the East march and captain of Norham castle. Among Wolsey's Correspondence in the State Paper Office, are several of his letters addressed to that minister, some of which are dated from Norham. In two of them (vol. i. 143, 144), but which have not years to their dates, he begs to be relieved from all office on account of his age and infirmities, and offers the services of his sons, Sir John and Sir William, in his place. His son and heir sir John was attained, 28 Hen. VIII. for his share in Aske's rebellion: see the pedigree in Ord's Cleveland, p. 409.

|| Sir Godfrey Foljambe, of Walton, co. Derby, was an esquire of the king's body in 1513, when he received from Wriothesley Garter a grant of a cat-wolf as the supporter of his arms. See the memoirs of the Foljambe family printed in Collectanea Topograph. et Genealogica, vol. i. p. 356.

¶ Sir Thomas Tempest, of Holmeside, co. Durham, a serjeant-at-law, was seneschal to the bishops of Durham from 1510 to 1544, with a fee of 20*l*. See Hutchinson's History of Durham, i. 407, and the pedigree in Surtees's History of that county, ii. 327.

Counselores. { Palgrave, Scolmastere.
 Fayrfaxe,* Serjante at lawe.
 Chaunselere of Duresme.†
 Bowes ‡
 Woodhall, [*or* Uvedale, *see* p. xx.] Secretary.
 Walter Luke,§ generall Attorney.

Doctore Tate,|| Almonere.

Doctore Bates¶ (*lege* Buttes), Phisycion.

(*Signed*)

T. CAR^{lis} EBOR'.

A proporsyone of houshold for the duke of Richemonde.

The number of the Chekerole.

Chaunselor. Firste the deane of Yorke, servantes v.

Chamberlen. Roger Ratelyfe, servantes iiij, for his wages xxxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d.

Vice Chamberlen. Richard Page, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.

* Thomas Fairfax, serjeant-at-law 1521, second son of Sir Guy Fairfax, of Steeton, co. York, one of the judges of the king's bench.

† William Frankeleyn, B.D. was archdeacon of Durham from 1515 until his death, and some time rector of Houghton le Spring. He was also temporal chancellor of the see, with a fee of forty marks. (Hutchinson's Durham, i. 407.) He was president of Queen's college, Cambridge, from 1526 to 1528. In 1535 he obtained the deanery of Windsor, but was obliged to resign it in 1553: he died rector of Chalfont St. Giles, co. Bucks, in Jan. 1555-6, and was there buried. A very long and remarkable letter of his to Wolsey on the mineral riches of the Bishopric of Durham is printed by Hutchinson, i. 405. See more of him in Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire, vol. ii. p. 69, vol. iii. p. 232.

‡ Sir Robert Bowes, younger brother of sir Ralph Bowes, of Streatlam, was escheator of the bishopric of Durham from 1529 to 1543, some time warden of the Middle march, and finally master of the rolls in 1592. See Surtees's History of Durham, iv. 107, and Durham Wills, published by the Surtees Society, p. 145.

§ Walter Luke, afterwards serjeant-at-law 1532, and a justice of the king's bench 1533. He died in 1544, and was buried at Cople, co. Bedford, where his effigy in brass plate remains.

|| William Taite held the prebend of Botevant in the church of York from 1522 to 1540. He was also sacrist of Beverley, rector of one of the medieties of Thweng, and official of the court of Carlisle. Willis's Cathedrals, i. 123.

¶ William Buttes, M.D. of Cambridge 1518, became the king's principal physician, and was knighted. He died in 1545, and was buried at Fulham near London. His portrait occurs in Holbein's picture of Henry VIII. granting the charter to the College of Physicians, and that of his lady—Margaret, daughter of John Bacon, of Cambridgeshire, in Holbein's Heads, by Chamberlain. See further of him in notes to Sir H. Nicolas's Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 305, and in Wood's Fasti Oxon. (by Bliss), vol. i. col. 50.

Tresorer of y^e Chamber. Mr. Dalby, Archedeacon of Richmond, servantes iiij.
 Generall Reeavor. Mr. Magnus, servantes v.
 Almoner. Doctor Tate, servantes iiij.
 Phesytyone. Doctore Buttes, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 Scolmaster. Mr. Palgrave, servantes iiij, for his wages xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Secetary. Mr. Woodhall, servantes iiij, for his wages x^{li}.
 Generall Attorney. Walter Luke, servantes iiij, for his wages xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Solyssetor., servantes ij, for his wages x^{li}.
 Counselor Retayned—Mr. Fayrefaxe, serjante at the lawe, servantes iiij, for his wages
 xiiij^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Counselors in } The Chaunselor of Duresme, servantes iiij.
 Houshold. } Sir Wm. Eures,* knight, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 } Mr. Bowes, servantes iiij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 iiij chaplenes, servantes viij, wherof } To every chaplene, for fyndinge ij horses for him
 one clarke of y^e eloset . . . } and his servante, at ij^d ob. the daye.
 ij gentlemen huisheres, servantes iiij.
 ij copberers
 ij earveres } servants xij }
 ij sewerers of the chamber } at vij^d ob. the daye.
 viij gentlemen waytores, servantes xvj
 Yeomen huishers of the chambere ij } at iiij^d the daye.
 Yeomen of the chambere xx
 ij groomes of the previc chaniber }
 ij groomes of the utter chamber } to every of them at xl^s the yeaere.
 j page of the previc chambere }
 ij pages of the utter chamber } to every of them at xvj^s viij^d the yeaere.
 ij footemen }
 } at iiij^d the daye.
 (*MS. cut away.*)

The Housholde.

Stuarde. Sir Wm. Bulmere, knight, servantes iiij, for his wages xxxiiij^{li} vj^s vij^d.
 Tresorore. Sir Godfrey Fuljambe, knight, servantes iiij, for his wages xxvj^{li} vj^s viij^d.
 Comptrolere. Thomas Tempeste, knight, servantes iiij, for his wages xxvj^{li} xij^s iiij^d.
 Cofferer. George Lawsons,† servantes ij, for his wages xx^{li}.
 Clerke of the grene clothe, or }
 auditor for the houshold. } servants ij, for his wages x^{li}.
 Clerke comptrolere, servantes ij, for his wages c^s.
 Clerke of kitchen, servantes ij, for his wages c^s.

* Sir William Eure was lieutenant of the Middle march in 1523. He was afterwards the first lord Eure, of Wilton Castle, co. Durham, so created in 1544.

† George Lawson died captain of Wark castle in 1558: see the Durham Wills published by the Surtees Society, p. 176.

Pantrey.	{ xj yeomen ij groomes	} Gent' vij ^d ob', yeomen iij ^d the daye, and groomes xl the yeare.
Cellere.	{ j gentleman j yeoman	
Buterey.	{ ij groomes eu' fr' ob' [?] j yeoman, ij groomes	
Yewery.	{ j yeoman, ij groomes j marshall	
Halle.	{ j yeoman gr' en' fu' ob' [?] j yeoman	
Almoner.	{ j groome	} Gentlemen at vij ^d ob', yeomen at iij ^d the daye, groomes at xl', children at xxvj' vij ^d , and laborers at xx' the yeare.
Kitchene and Boylngthouse.	{ j mastere cooke ij yeomen gromes eu' fac' [?]	
	{ ij children iiij laboreres	
Poultry and Scaldinghouse.	{ j yeoman ij groomes	
Pastery, Squelye, and Sausery.	{ ij yeomen iiij groomes	
Slaughter- house.	{ j yeoman ij groomes	
Acatorye.	{ j yeoman ij groomes	
Garderobe of Robes and beddes.	{ ij yeomen vij groomes	
Potyeary, Spicery, and wafery.	{ ij yeomen iiij groomes	
Porteres at the gate and cart- takeres.	{ i yeoman ij groomes	
Backhouse and bruhouse.	{ ij yeomen, groomes vi	
Barbore.	{ i yeoman	
Laundere.	{ j yeoman, groomes ij	
Stable.	{ Master of the horse, servantes iiij, for his wages x ^{li} . Clerke of the avery, servantes ij, for his wages vi ^h xiiij' iij ^d . j yeoman, j groome of the stiroke ij.	

Stable.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{j yeoman, j groome feriores ij} \\ \text{j yeoman, j groome cartemen ij} \\ \text{j yeoman, j groome somptermen ij} \\ \text{yeomen, groomes, lyttermen, ij} \\ \text{horskeeperes x} \end{array} \right\}$	To every yeoman at xl ^s , and every groome xxvj ^s viij ^d by the yeare.
Some of the nombere of the Checkroule	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ccxlv.} \\ \text{by the yeare} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Some of wages} \\ \text{by the yeare} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{c xx} \\ \text{viij iiij vjli xvs vijd obr.} \end{array}$

Then follow in the same MS. "the ordenarye diette by estymacion for my Lorde the Duke of Richemonde" at various periods of the year, the liveries of his officers, &c. and the ordinary fees of his household, the whole again signed by the cardinal of York, extending to 9½ folio pages. The sum of all charges by the year was by estimation 310*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.

Among the Wolsey papers now in the Rolls House are several relating to the duke of Richmond's household, of which I have examined these four:—

First Series, 743. A Proportion of my lord of Richemondes howshold (Lib. B.) A folio quire of parchment, of which nine leaves are occupied by writing: being tables of daily diet, and liveries. Sum total for the year by estimation 2,439*l*. 1*s*. 9½*d*.

Second Series, No. 800. The sum total of all the household expenses from the 12th June, 17 Hen. VIII. (1525) to the last of March following, being nine months and nineteen days, viz. 3,073*l*. 7*s*. 0½*d*., being at the rate of 6*l*. 9*s*. 1*d*. a day, 290*l*. 15*s*. 2½*d*. a month, or 3,816*l*. 6*s*. 9¾*d*. for the whole year.

No. 841. The account of Richard Coton, clerk comptroller, from the 16th June, 17 Hen. VIII. (1525) to the last of December, being for a half year and seventeen days. This paper gives at length the particulars of the diet of the household, the total of which is 1,042*l*. 19*s*. 11¾*d*.: then follow these items—

	£	s.	d.
Necessaries for the household	114	2	11½
Extraordinary expenses and rewardes given for presents	57	14	10
Installation at Windsor, fees to officers	22	6	8
Wardrobe of robes	87	9	2
Counsel and servants, for diet	346	14	3
Expenses from Marton Abbey to York for 25 days	91	14	7
Fees and wages of officers for a half year	440	15	5
Land carriage	75	2	2½
Water carriage	15	18	2
Napery of my lord and the household	7	14	4
To lord Ogle for the safe keeping of Tyndale	20	0	0
Expenses of Sir Edward Seymour, master of the horses, for horses bought, provender, and other expenses of the stable	91	9	10
Money paid to Edward Forest for repairs	234	4	1

Total of all expenses, 2,648*l*. 6*s*. 5¾*d*.

£1,605 6 6

No. 393. This is an account resembling the last, beginning the 12th June, 17th Hen. VIII. and extending to the last day of March following. The heads (each of which refers to a separate book of particulars) are as follow :—

	£	s.	d.
The gardrobe of roobes—apparel provided for the duke	88	1	2
The gardrobe of beddes—hangings for chambers and other stuffe	63	2	7½
Stable—diverse horses and geldings with certain sadelles, and other necessities	68	2	10
Reparations on the manor of Sheriff Hutton	321	19	10½
Extraordinary and foreign charges :—			
Costs and expenses of the duke's council sitting as well at Duresme place, determynynge certayne causes concerning the duke's household, as also sitting in commission at York, and other places, for the determynation and administracion of justyce	47	2	3
The rowlling of the said duke's patent, with fees at his installation at Winsour	37	10	4
New yeres gifts	6	9	5
Rewardes to persons bringing new yeres gifts	9	6	8
Greyhounds and other hounds	4	10	0
Players and mynstrellies for rewardes	3	18	8
Prest to the lord Ogle for the keeping of Tyndalle	20	0	0
Almes—to the Almer for almes distributed to poore peepulle	11	17	10

Somme of all the allowance aforesaid, 682*l.* 1*s.* 8¼*d.*

Whilst surrounded with all this attendance and magnificence, and nominally in an office of so great political importance, the real business of the duke of Richmond at this period must have been his own progress in those studies for which the king and Wolsey had supplied him with instructors. We have seen from the foregoing list of his household that his school-master's name was Palsgrave; but we also learn from documents which are hereafter introduced that that office was for some time filled by Dr. Richard Croke. Both these persons were men of considerable celebrity for their skill in languages. John Palsgrave was the author of that book, now so valuable in illustrating both English and French terms of this period, *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse* :* and from the intro-

* John Palsgrave was an Englishman, born in London, and a graduate of Paris. His epistoll to the kynges grace, which is prefixed to *Lesclarcissement*, &c. states that he had been commanded by the king to instruct the right excellent princess his sister Mary, the dowager of France, in the French tongue, a fact which is confirmed by the following item

ductory portions of that work, which was printed in 1530, we find that "he had in commandment by our most redoubted sovereign to instruct the duke of Richmond's grace in the Latin tongue." Dr. Richard Croke had previously been Reader of Greek in the university of Cambridge.* Our great antiquarian benefactor John Leland appears also to have interfered in the duke's instruction, at least so far as to present him with a copybook of great and small letters, which was accompanied with the following Latin verses:—

Ad illustrissimum Henricum ducem Richmondianum.

Quo Romana modo majuscula littera pingi,
Pingi quo possit littera parva modo,
Hic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis,
Princeps Aonii spes et alumne gregis,
Qui tibi si placeat, quod certe spero futurum,
Maxima pro parvo munere dona dabis.

Eneomia Illustrum Virorum, p. 68.

of the date of the 6th Jan. 1513: "To mr. John Palysgrave clerke, scolemaster to my lady princess, for his wages for one hole yere, xj li. xij s. iij d." Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII., at the Rolls House, A v. 17. At the same place are two letters of the same Queen, both dated at Paris (3d April, and 13th November, but without the year), soliciting Wolsey for preferment for Palsgrave; and a paper, No. 605, relating to his appointment to the rectory of Asfordby, co. Leic. The king granted him a privilege of seven years for his book on the French language, dated at Ampthill, 2 Sept. a. r. xxii. (1530). The author's epistle is followed by one from "Andrewe Baynton to the ryght noble and excellent yong gentilmen Thomas Hawarde, my lord Geralde, and maister Charles Blont, sonne and heyre to the lord Montjoye, his late scole felowes," where Palsgrave is spoken of as "our maister," and in which occurs this passage: "After he had in commandment by our most redouted soveraygne to instructe the duke of Richemontes grace in the Latin tong, he brought all the hole Analogie of the Romane speche into ix letters; that is to say, theyr five vovelles, and m, n, r, s, consonantes, whiche thyng was never, as yet, of no clerk that he wotteth of afore his tyme observed: saving that Marcus Varro," &c. Ten years later Palsgrave published "*Aealastus*, a Latin comedy, set forth before the burgesses of the Hague in Holland in 1529, by William Fullonius, translated into our English tongue after such maner as chylderne are taught in the grammer scoole, by John Palsgrave, Londinensis. 1540." See him further noticed in Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (edit. Bliss), vol. i. 121.

* The fact of Croke being the duke of Richmond's tutor was noticed by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 85—probably from the letters hereafter printed. The statement was adopted by Anthony à Wood, in the second edition of his *Athenae*, when giving the biography of Croke, with the unauthorised addition that the duke was "with him at King's college in Cambridge." Wood also imagined that the earl of

Holinshed the chronieler takes upon him to say (but it does not appear whether upon any other authority than the preceeding "hexastichon," which he quotes,) that the duke "loved John Leland the reverend antiquarie:" he also remarks, "This duke was verie forward in the knowledge of toongs, and also in knightlie activitie, as may appeare by due consideration of the historie in place where he is mentioned."*

On the 10th October following the duke of Richmond's arrival at Sheriff Hutton, one of his counceillors named William Frankeleyn, the chancellor of Durham, thus wrote to Wolsey:—

"I assure your grace my lord of Richmond is a chylde of excellent wisdom and towardnes; and, for his good and quyk capacite, retentyve memorie, vertuous inclinasion to all honor, humanitie, and goodness, I thynk hard it wolbe to fyende any creature lyving of wise his age hable or worthly to be compared to hym. How his grace used hymself in dispechieng mr. almoner† (myself being present), and with what gravitie and good maner he desyred to be recommendid unto the kinges highnes, the quene, and your grace, I doubt not but the said mr. almoner woll advertyse your grace at his comyng."‡

In a letter§ written by the duke's council on the 5th November, 1525,

Surrey was a student of Cardinal college in Oxford, and added that it was probable that the duke of Richmond accompanied Surrey thither. Dr. Nott, in discussing the education of the earl of Surrey (*Memoirs*, p. xx), refused to credit the story about Oxford; but admitted, "I believe the fact to be, respecting Richmond, that he studied at Cambridge, at King's college, under the learned Richard Croke, who was then public Greek Reader there." It is evident, however, that the claims of either university to either of these noble pupils are alike groundless.

In a letter of Thomas Hennege to Wolsey, dated the 4th Aug. 1528, occurs this passage: "Also his highnes [the king] commaunded me, in my wrytyng to your grace, to putt you in remembraunce, as I did write unto you before, for the benefice of Horworth, to dispose the same to my lord of Richemont his scoolemaster." (*State Papers*, 1830, i. 324.) It does not, however, appear to which schoolmaster this notice refers. In 1534 one Roger Beeston was vicar of Harworth, co. Nottingham (*Valor Ecclesiast.* v. 183), which it may be presumed was the benefice in question.

* Holinshed, *Chronicle*, fol. 1586, iii. 1237.

† This was the king's almoner, Edward Lee, afterwards archbishop of York.

‡ *State Papers*, 4to. 1836, (*Scotland and the Borders*,) vol. iv. p. 408.

§ This letter, which is preserved in MS. Cotton. Caligula, B. vi. art. 37, is omitted in the volume of the *State Papers Commission* from which we have been hitherto quoting,

they make the following appeal to Wolsey for his advice and instructions as to their conduct at the approaching Christmas in respect to the duke's New-year's gifts—a matter which, as is evident from several pages of the ensuing Inventory, was then esteemed of much importance:—

“ We entende at this tyme, if it maye stande with your grace's pleasure, to provyde for the kinges highenes a Newe yeres gifte to bee sente unto his highenes at the begynnyng of this next newe yere from my lorde of Richemounte. And for that purpoos we have sente this berer William Amyas to London for making and for provysion of the same. And howe we shalle use oureselffes therein, for the devise and value thereof, we besече your grace that this said berer maye knowe your grace's pleasure. And if it maye stande with the same your pleasure that we shalle in like maner provyde any othir Newe yeres giftes, for the quene's grace, the Frenshe quene, the dukes of Norffolke and of Suffolke, and for the marquesses of Excestre and of Dorset, we doo mooste humbly besече your grace that this berer maye alsoo knowe your pleasure concernyng the same, whiche we have commaunded hym to observe in every behalfe.” This was “ written at the castelle of Shirefhutton the fifte day of November,” and signed by Brian Higdon, Wyll'm Parre, Thom^as Dalby, W. Frankeleyn, Rycharde Page, and Jo. Uvedale.

On Christmas day (apparently in the same year) we have again a report from the duke's council to Wolsey: “ Please it your grace to bee advertised that youre honourable yong and tendre godsonne my lorde of Richemounde is at this presente tyme (laudid bee God) in good and prosperous helthe, and as towardly a yong prince as ever hathe been sene in oure tyme: Who in his mooste humble wise, at the making of this lettre, besecethe your grace of youre dayely blessing, and of the contynuanee of youre gracious favour towards hym, in like maner as evermore your grace (withoute any his desert) hathe alweyes bene in tymes passed.” This is dated from Sheriff Hutton, and signed by Will'm Parre, Godffrey Foliambe, Thom^as Dalby, W. Frankeleyn, John Palsgrave, William Taite, Richarde Page, and Jo. Uvedale.

but improperly so, for the portion preceding that here printed contains some important particulars relative to the state of the borders. The same observation applies to another in Caligula, B. vii. art. 33, written by the duke's council from Sheriff Hutton on the 22nd of the same month.

There is no positive evidence how the little duke passed the year 1526, except that it appears from a letter of doctor Magnus that on the 13th of September in that year he was still at Sheriff Hutton.* His usual winter quarters were in the castle of Pontefract; and from that place he addressed to his father the greater number of a very interesting series of letters, still preserved in Her Majesty's State Paper Office. Including two to cardinal Wolsey, one of which is in the British Museum, they are altogether thirteen in number, but, as none of them have any year attached to their dates, their order must be in some degree conjectural. Their penmanship is so beautifully fair,† that it does not afford much guide to the arrangement. By that criterion, however, the following, "penned with his own hand," may be regarded as the first in date, and the probability seems to be that it was written in January 1526-7, when he was in his eighth year.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 92.]

After most humble and moste laulye requeste and petetion had unto yowre grace for yowre daylye blissynge, pleas yt the same to be advertysyd I have receyvyd yowre moste honorable and goodly newyerys gyfte, And gyve unto yowre sayde grace most lawlye thanks for the same, Humblye besechynge yowre grace to accept and take thys my lettre pennyd with myne owyne hande for a poore token at thys tyme. At yowre castel off Pountefret, the xiiiith off Januarye.

Yowre humble servant,

II. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kynges hyghenes.

In a letter of dr. Magnus to Wolsey, dated from Pontefract on the 8th Feb. 1526-7, we are told that a servant of the king of Scots had recently arrived there, bringing a letter from his master, and another from the

* "At Shereiff Hooton the 13th day of Septembre. Ymmediately upon the making of this my letter, my lord of Richemountes grace, hering that I sent unto your grace (Wolsey) at this tyme, instantly required me to recommaunde hym unto your said grace, beseching youe of your blessing." (State Papers, iv. p. 459.)

† Could ordinary types have represented the penmanship adequately, I should have been glad to exhibit these letters to the reader in fac-simile: but as such attempts are vain, I will merely remark that they are always written with a fine pen, in a remarkably clear Italian hand, retaining a few of the old-fashioned contractions, and writing *u* for *v*, and *v* for *u*. One of the signatures is engraved hereafter, p. lvii.

queen, the king's mother, "conteynnyng boothe oon effecte and purpose, that I wolde doo so myche as to send to the said kyngges grace three or foure cowple of houndes mete for hunting of the haire, fox, and other gretter game, and also a cowple of lyam houndes, being suche as wolde ride behynde men on horsback.

"Immediately upon the receipt of the said twee letters, I showed thaym to my lorde of Richemondes grace, whose grace did right roundely rede thaym over, and furthwith had a naturall inclynation to doe pleasure to the said king of Scottes.* Wherupon it was thought good to me, and to other of my lordes counsaile being here at that tyme, that, insomyche as my said lordes grace is Warden generall of all the Marches foranenste Scottelande, it shulde therefore be right convenient that my said lordes grace, for demonstration of good love, favour, and kyndnes, to doe pleasure with houndes or any other like thing to the said king of Scottes, specially by cause his grace and the quenes grace his moder wroote boothe for that matier unto me, knowing me to have attending upon my said lordes grace. And over this, in my poor opynyon, I did conjecture the sending hider of the said king of Scottes servaunte was to viset and see my lordes said grace, and to noote the maner, fourme, and facion of his househoolde, bruted in Scotland of right high estimation: Howe be it, at my commyng from oute of Scottelande, I showed booth unto the kingges highnes and to your grace that the said young king was verey desirous to have houndes, and such a person as well couth blowe an horne, to be sent unto hym.

"Thees premisses reasonned and considered amongges us here, my said lord hath written and sent to the said king tenne couple of his oune houndes, in suche maner and wise as your grace shall conceive by the copy of his letter,† whiche with this I sende unto your said grace at this tyme, with other copies of twee my severall letters nowe sent to the said young king and the queenes grace his moder; trusting noe thing but myche goodnes, perfite love, and favour, by this meanes, shall encrease betwene booth the yong princes (the reader will not fail to remark the writer's courtly flattery in placing the duke of Richmond on a par with the king's

* James the Fifth, who was born in 1512, was at this time in his fifteenth year, and consequently about twice the age of the duke of Richmond.

† This does not seem to be preserved.

nephew of Scotland), provoked furste on the partye of the said king of Scottes by his letters, and the letters also of the quenes grace his moder, sent unto me as is afore saide."

The same letter proceeds to enter very fully into some difficulties of the accompts of the duke's household, which had recently cost the clerk of the green cloth his life: "What with watche, taking of coolde, and thought for this matier, in all our oppynyons here, it was the cause of his death." The said clerk of the green cloth had declared to doctor Magnus, that, besides wages, fees, and liveries, the weekly charge of this household did not exceed the sum of four or five and twenty pounds: but to this the doctor could give no credence, and hence the troubles and anxieties of the unfortunate clerk, which proved so fatal to him.*

By the same messenger was forwarded "To my Lord Legate's grace" a statement † also dated at Pountefret the viijth day of February, and signed by sir William Bulmer and sir Thomas Tempest, the steward and comptroller of the duke's household, advertising "your grace of my lorde of Richmoundes affaires, as well concernynge the order of his householde, as other his causes in thie; partie;" They represent that since the coming of mr. Magnus they had strictly followed the instructions of which he had been the bearer. They then add, "Alle the whole counselle determynd the best meanes to mynyshe my lorde of Richemoundes charges and expenses of householde was in avoydinge goode nombre of persones from his service, and in abbredgyng of their wagie; or in both. Whiche abbredgment of wagies mr. Magnus wolde nott assent, the pleasure of the kynges highnes and of your grace nott first knowen in that byhalve. By thadvise of mr. Magnus and the hoole counselle eighteen person; at one tyme were dischargede owte of my lordes service, somme of them for their offences, and some other of them for that their rowmes were superfluous; and nott necessary to be hadde in householde. And nowe of laite

* State Papers, Border Correspondence, iv. 464. Magnus's next letter, written on the 26th of March, relates that "The king of Scottes hath given me grete thanks for inducing acquaintance betweene hym and my lord of Richemoundes grace, and also did gret chere to be made to my lordes servauntes, being a yoman and a grome, sent into Scotland with houndes, and gave to the yoman tenne pound sterling, and to the grome five pound." (*Ibid.* p. 469.)

† This has been printed at length in Ellis's Original Letters, Third Series, vol. ii. p. 119.

we have receyved dyvers lettres directed from the kynges highnes streytly charynge us to admytt dyvers of the same person; to my lordes service ageyne with gretter wagies thenne they hadde before." They proceed to state that they had been informed by Wolsey's letters that the duke's lands, fees, and revenues were estimated to amount to the whole sum of four thousand pounds and above; but they had not as yet been able to ascertain their actual value, "for wee or our felowes be nott maide prively to thoose cause;" and notwithstanding all "the best and most profitable waies and measnes" they had devised, "by reasone wherof the saide house is in a marvelous goode steve and ordre, yet the charges and expenses now susteigned in the same be nott muche lesse than they were at his first repaire to thie; partie;, whenne alle the noble men and other worshipfulle gentilmen of alle thie; northe countree; dayly reasorted too his lordshippe in great noubre, And the moost parte of alle his retynewe and servantes contynewally attendynge upon hym, And he as highly extemde (esteemed) in honour as ever was eny yonge prince in thie; partie;."

The unsettled state of the duke's household which the foregoing documents have described naturally made his servants eager to catch at any more permanent preferments that crossed their view; and perhaps at the same time we find the duke writing with his own hand the following letter to the king in favour of one of his yeomen ushers:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 94.]

Pleas yt yowre hyghenes to bee advertised that for the true and diligent service daily done unto me by my loving servant Robert Markham, yeman-luyssher off my chambre, this berer, I amc ryghte desirous to have hym prefered unto the romes off baillif and keper off the towne and park of Torpell,* lately geven unto me by yowre highenes, where off on John Brede, a man ferre in age, ys nowc offeicer. In consideracion whereof, and also for that it hathe not bene my chance as yet hidderto to proferre any oone of my servantes to any maner off promocion other spirituelle or temporalle, in my moost humble and mooste lowly wyse I beseeche yowre hyghenes to be so good and gracious lord unto my sayd servant as to

* The manor of Torpell is in Northamptonshire: see Bridges's History of that county, vol. ii. p. 600.

addres yowre moste honoureable lettres myssynes* unto the said John Brede, willing and desiryuge hym by the same that my said servant mought be joyute patent with hym in the said offices, whereby the same servant in tyme commyng shalbe moche more able to doo good service unto me, like as fulle welle and diligently at all tymes he hathie donne. As knowethe the hoolye Trynytie, who evermore have yowre highenes in his mooste blissed presarvacion, my mooste singler good and gracious soverin liage lorde. Writtene at Pontefret the xij daye of February by yowre mooste humble and lowly servant,

Directed, To [the ky]nges highenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

On the 3rd March, 1526-7(?), on his vice-chamberlain leaving him to repair to the king's court, the duke was again asked to write to his father, and it was suggested to him that he should now write in his official character of Warden of the Marches. The following brief despatch † was the result:—

[State Paper Office, Border Correspondence, No. 5.]

Pleas it yowre highenes to be advertised, that righte good rule and quyetnes is in thies parties, excepte that the thieves of Liddursdale in Scotland have bene steringe of late in the borders towards the mydle marches; for refformation whereof I have written unto the kynge of Scottes; likeas my vice chamberlayne this berer canne reporte unto your highnes; besechinge our Lord God longe to preserve your grace. Wrytten at yowr castelle of Pountefrete the third day of Marche.

Your lawly servaunte,

Directed, To the kynges hyghenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

The duke writes again on behalf of one of his servants:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 95.]

Pleas yt yowre grace to be advertysed, Trustyng to preferre good syr William Swalowe my olde chapellayne to a poore lyvyng, I presentyd

* *Sic.*

† The original of this letter is now separated from the rest in the State Paper Office, and placed in the class of Border Correspondence. It is the only one written by the duke of Richmond that was printed by the State Papers Commission, in that series, iv, 467, and the date of 3 March, 1526-7, was there assigned to it.

hym of late unto the vicarage of Fremyngton in yowre countye of Devon, beyng in my gyfte, with yowre gracious favour. Soo yt ys, as my good director Master Thomas Magnus the berer hereof can and wol shewe unto youre grace, that my sayd pore chapleyne ys lyke to lose the same benefice, onles yowre sayd mooste gracious favour bee shewyd to hym yn that partye, whereof mooste humblelye I beseche yowre grace, And that yt may pleas the same at thys presente tyme tacept thys my wrytyng pennyd with myne owne hand for a memorialle concernyng the premysses. And the hollye Trinite evermore have yowre hyghnes my mooste drad soverayne lorde yn hys moost blessyd preservation. Wrytten at yowre Castell of Pountefrete the laste day of Aprylle. By yowre moost humble and lowly servante,

II. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kyngges hyghenes.

The next letter may have been written in 1527. It announces the return of doctor Magnus after a visit to court, whence he came laden with presents from the king for his boy:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 115.]

Pleas yt yowre mooste noble grace to wete, I have receved yowre mooste honorable lettres, and the riche and goodly Apparell sent unto me frome yowre highenes by mayster Magnus Director off my counsaile, mooste humbly and mooste lowly thanking yowre said highenes for the same, and according to the contynue and purpoort off yowre said mooste honorable lettres, I shall applie and incline me to my lernig,* and to procede in vertue w^t the helpe off God in the best that I canne. Beseching yowre said highenes of yowre daily blessing, and as I am mooste gretely bounden I shalle pray to God for yowre prousperous estate and preservacion. At my Castelle off Shereff hooton the xxth day off July, w^t the hand off yowre mooste lowly servant,

II. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kinges highenes.

On the 7th September in that year a letter † of Magnus, Parre, and Uvedale, was dated from the manor of Medley, or Methley, near Pontefract, where the duke was possibly then resident.

* *Sic.*

† State Papers, iv. 476.

Some letters which were addressed by doctor Croke, the duke's school-master, to Wolsey, afford a further very interesting insight into the economy of this princely household, with all its jealousies and bickerings, and also into the system of education which was then customary in the higher ranks of society. It appears that the duke was not educated alone, but several young noblemen were brought together to be his schoolfellows, to set him an example of diligence, to excite him to emulation, and further by the punishments they received, to let him see what he deserved, that he might in some measure dread the like discipline, even if he did not sustain it in his own person.*

For some time the progress of "the prince," as he is styled by Croke,† had been greatly to his satisfaction. At eight years of age he could translate any passage of Cæsar, with a due appreciation both of grammar and expression: and the doctor had conceived the highest hopes of his future progress, when his studies were disturbed chiefly by the interference of one of his attendants named Cotton,‡ who is charged with exhibiting a general enmity towards the duke's literary studies, and especially to his prosecution of Latin. He was constantly putting off the lessons, and withdrawing the boys to out-door amusements. He would not permit the

* So, Barnaby FitzPatrick, it will be remembered, was the fellow pupil of Edward the Sixth, and, according to report, the recipient of his chastisements. A contemporary dramatist furnishes a remarkable illustration of this practice, as will be seen in an Additional Note hereafter.

† Doctor Richard Croke to Cardinal Wolsey (from the original in the State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, iii. 74):—

Si diutius velim vivere, quam tuæ Celsitudini fideliter et libenter inservire, perdat me male, cum malis demoniis, optimus deus. Sed hic non est ubi hujus meæ in te pietatis justum aliquod exhibuero specimen, Reverendissime Domine, nisi justitia tua illorum velit reprimere furem, qui et principis et teneros condiscipulorum animos astutissimis commentis in literarum pariter ac sacerdotum odium quotidie impellere moliantur. Quorum princeps est Cotonus principis mei admissionalis.‡ Qui alleganti mihi tuæ Celsitudinis de principis formandis studiis decreta, respondere nihil est veritus, quod ego (nominis tui reverentia) non referrem, nisi et mea in tuam Celsitudinem fides id exigeret: et ille semper sic ageret, ut nonmodo dixisse sed etiam semper sensisse (quod dixit)

‡ George Coton at this time held an office which Croke described by the Latin word "admissionalis," probably that of gentleman usher. He retained his paramount influence over the duke's establishment, and was latterly his "governour." See a document given at the close of this memoir: and an Additional Note.

duke to rise at six, nor to learn at all before mass, and almost throughout the summer he had set aside the arrangement of time prescribed by the cardinal. He had even rescued from punishment the boys by example of whom it was necessary to restrain the young lord's faults, and had taken under his protection both their and the prince's idleness. After trying more friendly means of expostulation, the pedagogue at length had claimed the cardinal's authority, and set forth some of the orders received from him; to which Cotton warmly replied, that "My lord cardinal will not dare to maintain those orders if the king choose to dispute them with him." He further openly declared, in the prince's presence, that Croke should have no access to him, except at the time of teaching. Yet the same man, so careful in driving away the schoolmaster, readily admitted fools and players, who sang their indecent ballads before the prince in his privy chamber. He never reproved those who, in the prince's presence, attributed all kinds of wickedness to priests, and wished them every mischief; omitting no opportunity of drawing upon them hatred and contempt. (In this we perhaps have an intimation of the fore-shadows of the Reformation.) So thoroughly had he influenced the prince, that he

videretur. Res ita habet, cum ille neque permetteret, ut sexta surgeret principi, neque ut ante sacrum disceret, et omnes mihi fere per totam superiorem ætatem a tua amplitudine prescriptas horas auferret. Posteaque per hyemem, pueros quorum metu domini errores coercere fuit necesse, non modo a me pro arbitrio abstraheret, sed illorum pariter atque principis negligentie patrocinaretur. Vietus tanta malitie improbitate, pro Christiana modestia hominem seduco, compello sive arbitris amice officii admonéo, tandem tuam auctoritatem interpono, et mandata quædam expono. Ad quæ ille excandescens,

Non audebit (inquit) ista asserere D. Cardinalis, si his de rebus rex cum illo velit disputare. At ne labore fides mea (quod uni mihi hæc dixerit) palam mihi omnem (quam ad ipsa docendi tempora) ad principem interdixit accessum, et tum dicenti mihi aliter visum esse tuæ Celsitudini, ita publice, et palam, et coram principe, respondit,

Quoniam Regem allegas, nisi ad me (hæc de re) ab illo certificatorias adferas, scias te nunquam (quam ad docendi tempora) ad principem ingressurum. At hic tam in Preceptore arcendo diligens, libenter patitur scurras et mimos (qui digna lupanari in sacro cubiculo coram principe cantillent) admitti.

Nihil reprehendit eos, qui sacerdotibus (coram principe) nihil non impingant sceleris, nihil non optent calamitatis. Scilicet quo (ut dixit Horatius) Quo semel est imbuta recens conservet odorem Testa diu.

Certe ad allatum a Celsitudine tua mandatum ita excanduit, ita ad auctoritatem tuam indignatus est, ut nunquam interim interniserit quod vel tum mandatum eluderet, vel

applied less willingly to his learning than anything, disregarding alike his master's praises and threats, so that there was an end to his studies, unless the cardinal could devise a remedy. For what might not be expected from a boy who had been already taught to say, "Master, if you beat me I will beat you!" And might he not well think he could say so with impunity, when he saw that his schoolfellows, though so much inferior to him, were allowed by the servants of his privy chamber not only to vilify their master behind his back, but even to abuse him to his face, and observed that, when they came for correction, they were taken out of his hands by grooms, who asserted that it was improper to unbreech them before so great a prince, and that they ought to be taken into a bed-chamber to be flogged. The groom who had done this was one Twyford, a kinsman of Cotton, and no doubt by Cotton's direction.

Among the boys, one Scrope had especially provoked the pedagogue's wrath. He is pronounced to be utterly inapt for all studies becoming a prince. Though Croke had formerly, with the utmost kindness, given him instruction in Latin, he had been forbidden to learn further by Cotton

me, et literas, et sacerdotes omnes, in omne odium atque contemptum apud principem traheret. Planeque eo perduxit principem ut nulli rei gravantius incumbat quam literis, ut doctus nihil quidquam advertat, laudes juxta et minas omnes meas contemnat, ut nisi tua prudentia saluberrimas istas manus tuas ocyus admoverit huic malo, actum sit de studiis principis, non sine magno meo preceptoris malo. Quid enim non fecerit adultus, qui per jocos docetur nunc dicere mihi, Preceptor, si tu me verberes ego te verberabo. Et cur non putet se debere mihi impune ista dicere, cum pueros se multis gradibus inferiores, suos condiscipulos, suos ministros* arrientibus et confirmantibus illos ad hoc (qui a sacro principis cubiculo sunt) audiat non modo a tergo lacerare me, sed etiam in os mihi convitiari, et (ubi a me castigandi veniunt) mihi e manibus eripi a gromis, non absque minis, et his coram principe expostulationibus, Quid tu nudaveris puerorum nates coram tanto principe? Non facies. Abduc ergo (si velis) in cubiculum flagellandum hunc. Qui hæc fecit Twyfordus gromus erat, Coton cognatus, nec dubium Coton consilio. Porro cum, rapiente ad castigationem puerum me, per indignationem cubiculum exiret Cotonus, illi successit Twyfordus.

Est hic Scropus quidam, puer ineptus ad omnia digna principe studia, olim a me Rhomanam literaturam doctus, summa clementia, sed ne amplius a me disceret in hoc a Coton et aliis vetitus, ut exemplo malo et pueros ceteros corrumperet, et dominum ad me contemnendum provocaret. Nec defuit Coton consiliis hæcenus Seropus. Nam et apud alios pueros Rhomanam literaturam atque linguam mirifice vituperat, et in me pueros (ut

* *Scr.* *Qu.* ? suis ministris.

and the rest; and he had done his best to depreciate the study with the other boys. This Scrope had not only uttered the worst things against the doctor, but had even loudly abused him in the church, calling him bastard, fool, rogue, mope, and a thousand other naughty names: he had moreover gone so far as to thrash a well-disposed boy who had recently been sent there by the king, and who lodged with Croke, daring him to tell that to the doctor.

If Croke attempted to admonish the other idle ones, Cotton was always at hand to expostulate, and in their presence and the prince's to exclaim that noble boys were not to be treated so strictly, defending their faults and errors in every possible way, and taking off some of them to hunt, walk, or sit with him; not allowing them to ask previous leave of their master. He further forbade rising much before light in winter to those who, to some number, slept with him in the prince's privy chamber, surely to the greatest peril of their lord should any attack of infectious sickness occur. To the same boys he was so indulgent as not to allow them to go to school at night, to do which with a better pretext he for some time undertook to set the prince a lesson, but entirely with the object to keep the boys to himself. Moreover, when Croke, forbidden to administer present punishment, found it necessary to threaten it in prospect, Cotton had not

sint obstinati) animatur; et a tergo pessime de me loquitur, et Trinitatis proxima, herens in ecclesia principis velo, mihi convitiatus est, et ita fuisse convitium in me se gloriatus est. Vocaverat enim me altissimo et barbaram quandam sævitiam spirante voce, Nothum, Nebulonem, Improbum, Melancholicum, et mille alia id genus scelerata nomina. Omnino hic puer eo superbie atque audacie progressus est ut puerum bona indole a rege huc recens missum cedat pulsetque indigne, illud occinens inter cedendum (puer enim apud me cubat) die doctori.

Sed nunc veniamus ad reliquos. Hos obstinate negligentes, si quando in terrorem principis admoneam liberius, aut contingam levius, hic non deest suo instituto Cottonus, sed continuo aliquandiu iurare me, et ipsis coram et principe elamitare, non tam rigide tractandos nobiles pueros, meam austeritatem incusare, vitia et errata puerorum modis omnibus defendere, interim nulla mea venia, sed plerumque etiam me invito, abducere quoslibet, venatum, expatiatum, commessatum secum. Non permittere ut a lectione abfuturi, aut a lectione discessuri, veniam a me petant. Denique non permittere in hyeme ut ante multam lucem surgant, qui cum illo, in sacro principis cubiculo, maximo certe (si qua egritudinis tristioris oriretur procella), domini periculo, cubant. In hos tam clemens ut ne noctu ad me docendos eos unquam venire permittat. Quod ut faceret speciosiori titulo adhibuit construenti lectionem traditam, singulis noctibus principi, aliquandiu;

hesitated to send messages by the boys themselves that if so and so were beaten, he would not permit him to come any longer for instruction. On that very plea he had kept away a good boy enough for a period of three months. But what affronted Croke as much as anything, he had endeavoured to instil into the boys a dislike to the Roman hand in which they had learned from him to write (and in which the little duke became such a proficient), and had himself taught them the secretary hand,—but in what fashion, adds Croke, you may judge from his own autograph! By these arts he had brought all the boys to regard their master so lightly, that when they went to hunt they thought it sufficient to signify their going by a messenger, and, were Croke to refuse, they did not hesitate to say that he had no concern with them out of lesson-time: and so they could be absent from lessons by merely asking leave of Cotton, whenever and as often as they pleased.

The pedagogue pursues his lamentation by representing the injurious effects which these doings had upon the prince. None of the cardinal's injunctions were observed; but, in the absence of the director of the council (Magnus), Cotton had utterly disregarded the whole of them, passing on Croke the grossest insults because he wished to enforce them. He first forbade the prince to write to the king or the cardinal, to doctor Magnus or to Page, anything at Croke's dictation. He then would not

verum ita ut nihil modo quam illum, noctu quoquo libeat, comitentur. Porro ubi veterit coram principe tangere, et istos necesse habuerim munitari, daturos interim apud me penam, non dubitavit pueris nunciis significare, si hunc aut hunc verberem, eum (quisquis fuerit) non permissurum se, ut amplius ad me docendus veniat. Quo nomine, bonum alioqui puerum, ad tertium olim mensem, imperiose a me detinuit. Nec hæc satis nocuisse contentus, animari pueros ut (quam a me dedicere scribere) Rhomanam contemnunt et in meum contemptum dediscant. Sed neque hic diligentie fucus malicie deest Nam ipse secretariam ipsos docet (qualem autem ex ipsius autographo licet judicare. Quibus artibus in eum mei contemptum universos pueros adduxit, ut progressuri venatum satis habeant nuncio significare se ituros, et (si ego negem) nihil dubitare quin respondeant mihi nihil, extra lectionem, esse cum illis negotiis. Itaque velle petita a Cotonio venia (et quando et quoties libuerit) a lectione abesse.

Sed quibus artibus domini in literis profectui obstat opere pretium fuerit audire, quod ut commodius aperiā necesse est hinc ordiar et dicam quo res est, scilicet nihil hactenus omnium mandatorum tuorum servatum esse, immo absente Moderatore consiliorum, altissime Cotonio contempta omnia, illatis mihi (quia voluerim exequi) gravissimis injuriis. Primo enim interdicare principi, ne ad regiam Majestatem, ne ad tuam Celsitudinem, ne

allow any writing before dinner, although that was the only convenient time: but he would set the prince to it after dinner before lessons, to his double injury, first, because by stooping and too long occupation with his pen, he became so wearied that he was rendered wholly incapable of study, for, his strength being exhausted, his mind grew listless with everything, his apprehension was dulled, and, with evident pain both of stomach and head, his eyes were stiff and filled with tears; and also because, on this pretence, the prince's autograph letters were procured for Cotton's advantage or favour; and, without the knowledge of the councillors or consent of Croke, they were sent, perhaps to the neighbouring abbats for hawks, or trifles of that sort, the prince's dignity being compromised, contrary to the orders Wolsey had given. Frequently Cotton would take the duke out from dinner to practise archery, and thus rendered him by fatigue little fit for his books, and indeed so idle that he would sometimes purposely stick at what he knew perfectly well, and not proceed any further: on which occasion, if Croke at all chid him, Cotton would immediately interfere and say, "Why do you scold so? my lord has done well. The passage is too difficult: he made a mistake. What can you expect? he will make some mistakes:" and anon, as if by his authority, the prince was torn away from his master, and the lesson broken off with caresses. "Often (adds Croke) not only without my

ad D. Magnum et Pageum, aliquid litterarum me autore scribat. Deinde (quod ad exercendam principis literaturam tempus commode unicum est) non pati ut ante prandium a lectione ego illam exerceam. Ceterum id facit ipse a prandio ante lectionem, duplici principis detrimento: primo, quia procumbendo, et nimia scribendi mora, principem sic fatiget interim, ut prorsus ad literas eundem reddat inutilem, quia, viribus exhaustis, animus langueat ad omnia, ingenium obtundatur, et manifestissima stomachi pariter et capitis noxa, oculo interim rigescant et illachrymentur. Deinde, quia hoc colore volent ad quoslibet in Cotonum commodum aut favorem principis autographæ, et ignaris consiliariis et me invito puta ad abbates pro accipitribus et id genus nugis, contra quod tua Celsitudo jusserrat, prostituta principis dignitate. Ut omittam quod de industria dominum sepe eduxerit a prandio sagittatum, ut fatigatione redderet parum ad literas idoneum, illud certe majoris est momenti, quam ut a me (salve fide) taceri debeat, scilicet quia hujus vitio eo aliquando obstinate negligentie perducatur dominus, ut de industria circa optime nota hereat, nihil omnino pergat. Quo tempore si quid ego increpui, statim occurrere castigationi Cotonus, "Quid adeo increpitas? Bene fecit dominus, Nimis difficilis locus est. Erravit, quid vis? Iterum errabit." Interim sua quasi autoritate a me avellere principem, neque sine osculis lectionem abrumperet. Sepe me non modo ignaro,

knowledge, but even contrary to my wishes, he has allowed the prince to play, forsooth that, with ill-will towards me, he might win the fullest favour for himself." This long diatribe is concluded with an earnest appeal to the cardinal for his interference, without which it was imagined that the prospects of the duke's education were entirely ruined. The several grievances, and the proposed means for their correction, were also embodied in the following "articles" in plain English* :—

Moste humbely besechithe your grace your orator and daylie bedeman Richard Croke scole master to the duke of Rychemonde, that yt wolde please your grace of your most habundant goodnes to directe your most graciūs lettres of comaundement unto my lorde of Richemondes consell comprysinge these articles followinge :

First, the quantytie of tyme whiche I shalle daylie occupie with my lorde in lerenyng by your grace appoyntid, the said counsell parmyt and suffer me to have accesse unto hym oone hower before masse and brekefast accordyng to your grace's former comaundemente. The rest of the tyme of ynstruceyon of my saide lorde to be taken at my discreccion, and

sed veluti invito, ludos permittere principi, scilicet ut mea mala gratia amplissimum mereatur ipse a principe favorem. Quod nisi hujus commentis tuæ Celsitudinis autoritate occurratur, quid ego ab immensis meis in principem et reliquos nobiles pueros laboribus expectem aliud, quam ipsorum extremum odium, Regis pariter ac tuam indignationem? Quippe quum ab anno hinc nihil quicquam literarum sit habiturus princeps meus, cujus ego ingenium hactenus non immerito supra omnium estimationem extuli, alacritatem predicavi. An non hoc miraculum est? octennem jam puerum ubivis locorum Cæsarem posse Anglicè interpretari, structuræ lege pariter ac arte ad unguem servata. At hoc tantum, nihil est præ eo quod jam nullo ferme negotio prestitisset in Rhomana lingua, nisi Cotoniani doli obstitissent, qui magna technarum ambage non cessat principem avertere a litteris, et puerorum malo exemplo sic corrumpere optimam indolem ut nisi fuisset optima, jam olim preceptorem fuisset indignata et literas habuisset exosus. Hæc sepe expostulans, sepe questus, nihil proficio. Itaque stat fructus principis, de quo magna spes erat fore, ut ante biennium sic utramque calleret linguam ut suapte et quodam ipsarum amore ad eas ferretur. Jam nisi tua Celsitudo juverit plane despero et ipsius fructum, et proinde (quod maximum meorum laborum expecto premium), et tuam et regiam, et principis alumni omnem gratiam. Deus te servet, Reverendissime domine. Pontefretti, vii. kal. Junii.

TUÆ CELSITUDINI

Directed, To my lord legates good Grace.

addictissimus,

Indorsed, From M. Croke, the vj. of July.

R. CROCUS.

* Previously published by Sir Henry Ellis in the Third Series of his Original Letters.

as I shall perceyve most convenient, and my saide lorde most apte to lerne. Provided that no more tyme by me be occupied in oone daye then by your grace shalbe appoynted. Ne that I so remytt eny parte of the same, that thereby my lordes lernynge may decaye.

Seconde that where as my said lorde is forced to wryte of his owen hande to abbottes and meane parsons contrary to your grace's comaundement; and that ymedyatly after his dynner and repast taken, to the grete dullynge of his wyttes, sprytes, and memory, and no litell hurte of his hed, stomak, and body; and that yt were very necessary in my pore judgement my saide lorde shuld wryte noo thing of his owen hande but in Latten specially to the kyngs highenes and your moste noble grace, to thentent he myght more fermely imprynte in his mynde both wordes and phrases of the Latten tonge, and the soner frame hym to some good stile in wrytiuge, whereunto he is now very rype; yt wolde please your grace therefore to determyn and appoynte both certayne persons, and also certayne tymes in the weke, to whome only, and when, my saide lorde shall wryte either in Englishe or in the Latten tonge, as your highe wisdom shall thinke moste convenyente. Provided the said exercise of his hande and stile in both the tonges be comytted onely to the discreccion and ordre of me his scole master; and that no man may force hym to wryte onles I be there presente, to dyrecte and forme his said hande and stile.

Thirdely that where as by example of good education, as well in noryture as good lernynge, of suche yonge gentilmen as by your graces comaundement be attendant upon my said lorde, the same myghte more facily be induced to profit in his lerenynge, yt wolde please your grace to gyve comaundemente that the instruction of the said gentilmen be at the only order and disposicion of the scole master, so that they be streytely comaundid to applye their lernynge at such tymes as I shall thinke convenient withoute mayntenaunce of eny man to the contrary. And also that none of them ne any other be sufferid to contynue in my lordes chamber durynge the tyme of his lernynge, but such only as the said scole master shall thinke mete for the furtherance of the same.

Fourthly, yt wolde please your grace in likewise to comande that the tyme of my lordes lernynge by your grace appoyntid be not interruptid for every tryefull, or reasorte of every stranger, but only strangers of honour, to whome also if my said lorde myght by the advise of his scole-

master exhibit and make some shew of his lernyng, like as he was wont and doth of his other pastymes, it shulde greatly encourage hym to his lernyng; to the which, bycause it is moste laborious and tedyous to children, his grace shulde be most specially anymated and encoraged.

Fynally, that no wayes, color, ne crafte be taken to discorage, alienate, or averte my said lordes mynde from lernyng, or to extyncte the love of lernynge in his estymacion, but that he be induced most highly to esteeme his boke of all his other studies. The which thing with other the premisses obteyned, I dare be bolde to assure your grace that his lernyng at the sighte of your grace shall with no litel tyme (*sic*), and much pleasure hymself, farr surmounte and passe the knowledge of eny childe of his yeres, tyme, and age, noone excepte.

To my lorde legates good grace.

The preceding letter from Croke was received by Wolsey on the 6th of July (probably in 1527), and about seven months after (in Feb. 1527-8) Croke wrote again to the cardinal,* directing now his complaints against sir William Parr, the duke's chamberlain, who supported Cotton in his behaviour. He assures Wolsey, however, that Parr, with all his efforts, had been unable to induce the counsellors to address letters to the king in Cotton's favour. Parr had since threatened that he would lessen Croke's credit with the king and the cardinal; but, conscious of his good meaning, Croke merely solicited that Parr's complaints of him, and his of Cotton and Parr, might be committed to the examination of the council, or of three of them—Parr and Taite alone excepted.

* Doctor Richard Croke to cardinal Wolsey (Wolsey Correspondence, iii. 78).

Non facerem officium meum, Reverendissime Domine, si celarem Celsitudinem tuam non potuisse Parrhū (licet id modis omnibus contendisset) a principis consiliariis extorquere literas ad Regem in Cotonī favorem, Verebantur enim viri sapientissimi ne ejusmodi suo testimonio vel innocentiae meae vel sacrosanctae gravitati tuae (qui mea fide Cotonī crimina Regi aperueras) vis aliqua fieret. Quorum nihil metuens Parrhūs, immo magnopere indignatus se hac nocendi spe dejectum, minatus est meam fidem, cum apud Regiam tum vero maxime apud tuam Majestatem, se irritaturum. At ego optime mihi conscius nihil fidei, nihil causae metuo, immo obsecro atque obtestor æquitatem tuam, ut universas Parrhī de me, et meas item de Cotonō et illo querelas, vel universis consiliariis vel tribus quibuslibet (Parrhū duntaxat et Tato exceptis) committas examinandas. Et facile viderit æquitas tua, nec me vanum esse (ut isti prædicant), et pertinacem horum invicem defensionem neque synecram esse, et rei ducalis maximo dispendio Parrhīanaeque negligentiae totam iuniri.

He tells the cardinal that he would scarcely believe how great a quantity of the prince's corn, malt, wine, ale, beef, mutton, veal, venison, salt-meat, fish, and every kind of provision, had, within two years, been squandered by the Cottons, as well in presents to their friends, as especially in providing for the family of Parr, of all which not a fifth part appeared in the prince's accounts; and that this had occurred by the fraud of Richard Cotton,* the clerks of the duke's kitchen could prove, provided they were bound by oath under the cardinal's authority to do so, as otherwise they would not dare to whisper in a business of such importance.

Croke proceeds to say that, since his arrival, Parr had been absent at intervals for sixty-six whole weeks; that he was then away, and not, as he heard, to return before Easter; and when resident he was very seldom at home, and never in his proper function, but wholly engaged in hawking and hunting. Parr had given additional offence to the pedagogue by calling the duke before him, and strictly enjoining him that he should cease to repeat to his master after supper the things taught him during the day, that he should never be alone with him, nor attend to him in any thing but at lessons, adding that the king did not choose that Croke should have the power to give him holidays; finally, to the exclusion of Croke, he had appointed his little nephew† to say matins and vespers with the prince when Cotton was absent. These orders had such effect that the prince, in Cotton's absence, would not mind the entreaties, coax-

Neque enim crediderit Celsitudo tua, quantam vim Frumenti, Hordei mæcerati, Vini, Cervisie, Bubalæ, Ovinae, Vitulinae, Ferinae, Salsamentorum, Piseum, et omnis omne genus viatici, intra biennium principi prodigere Cotoni, eum in condonandis amicis, tum vero maxime in alenda Parrhi familia. Quorum tamen omnium, ne quintam quidem in principis extare rationariis, idque imperiosa fraude Richardi Cotoni, duælis culinæ notarii probaturos se adfirmant, modo ad id faciendum tua autoritate sacramento obstringi queant, alioqui ne hiscere quidem in re tanti momenti illorum metu ausuri.

Jam ab adventu meo sexaginta sex solidas ebdomodas per intervalla Parrhus hinc abfuit, et jam abest, ante pascha (ut audio) non redditurus, et (ut adfuerit aliquando) rarissime domi, nunquam in justo ministerio, sed totus in aucupio et venatione fuit. Quale ergo iste vel contra me, vel pro Cotonò testimonium dixerit, (eujus absentia ut mee diligentie fraudi sit), his artibus hinc discedens, rem tractavit Parrhus. Dominum eorum ne accersit, et eidem etiam eorum me artissime imperat ne Cotonò absente (quod consueverat) in diem tradita a cena mihi reddat, ne mecum unquam solus sit, neu quavis in re

* Richard Cotton, brother to George, was comptroller of the household.

† This "little nephew" was very probably William afterwards marquess of Northampton.

ings, or threats of either Ambrose the usher, one of the best-natured of men, nor of the woman his nurse, nor of Croke himself when teaching. "Your foresight (he concludes by telling Wolsey) will easily divine to what all this will lead. I vastly fear lest a disposition of the best promise, with a great proof of my diligence, may at last be ruined under such masters, who measure everything for their own pleasure and profit, and nothing for the advantage of their lord."

In following the pedagogue's complaints it is impossible not to commiserate his degraded position, though, after the bad usage of the day, he evidently was inclined to practise needless severity towards his pupils; and it is strange to see in the despised schoolmaster of the castle of Sheriff Hutton, the same man who had previously succeeded the great Erasmus as reader of Greek at Cambridge, and who was afterwards employed by the king on the continent in the important matter of his divorce.

Dr. Croke's second letter was directed to the lord legate's own hands on the 6th of February. We are not informed what immediate reply he received; but he continued with the duke until the following October, when, a successor having been appointed (whose name does not occur), he took his departure with the following commendatory epistle, in which, after all his troubles, his merits were duly acknowledged by his princely pupil:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 105.]

Afir mooste humble piticion made unto youre gratius highenes for youre daily blissinge, it may please youre said highenes to understande, quam lectione mihi audiat; adjecit non placere Regi ut mea venia unquam ludat. Denique (excluso me) puellulum nepotem qui cum principe (absente Cotonio) Matutinas vespertinasque dicat, assignat. Quibus preceptis id effecit ut nec Ambrosii admissionalis, boni imprimis viri, nec mulieris nutricis, sed neque mei preceptoris, ullis precibus, blanditiis, aut minis ut docenti mihi (Cotonio absente) princeps animus advertat. Tua prudentia ista quorsum evaserint facile divinaverit. Ego magnopere metuo, ne ingenium longe optimum et felicissimum magna meæ diligentiae nota perierit tandem, his magistris, qui sua voluptate utilitateque omnia, nihil domini commodo metiuntur. Bene valeat Celsitudo tua. Scheriffhuttoni, viij. idus Februarij.

TUE CELSITUDINI

addictissimus clientulus,

Richardus Crocus.

Directed, To my lord legates good grace ouyne handes.

Seal, an antique gem of Mercury.

that accordinge to your mooste gratius commaundement Maister Doctor Croke, thys berer, Repairithe at this season unto youre saide highenes, And, forasmuche as he hathe taken bothe payne, Labour, and diligence tenduce me in Lerninge, wherby I trust in tyme commynge to be more able to serve youre said highenes, I therefore, considerynge also that I have a newe scolemaister, and (that notwithstandinge) the said maister Doctor Croke is inclined allwayes to continue his especielle favoure towardis me here aftere, in my mooste humble and mooste lowly wise beseche your highenes to be good and gracious lord unto hyme, the rather at thys my humble pursute and supplicacion. And the holie Trynitie evermore have youre gratius highenes in his mooste blessed tuicion and governance. Written at youre Castelle of Pountefret the xxvj daye of Octobre by youre mooste humble and moost lowly servante,

Directed, Unto the Kinges highenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

On the 31st Jan. 1527-8, the duke wrote two letters, to the king and the cardinal, both of which have been preserved. The object of both was to make earnest request that he might be furnished with "an harness," or suit of armour appropriate to his years, which he appears to have been promised in reward for his diligence in studying the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 93.]

In moost humble and lawly wyse I beseche yowre highenes off yowre dayly blyssynge, In lyke wyse prayng the same to be advertysed that I effectually gyve myne hole endeavour, mynde, study, and pleasuyre to the diligent appliaunce of alle sucche sciences and feates off lernynge, as by my moost lovyng counsellours I am daylye advertysed to stand with yowre moost hyghte and gratius pleasuyre. Therefore makynge moost humble and lawly intercession unto the same to remembre me yowre moost humble and lawly servant with on harnes for my exercise yn armys accordyng to my lernyng yn Julius Cæsar. Trustyng yn God as spedyly and profitably to prosper yn the same as yowre grace shal perseve that I have done yn al myne other lernynges. Wheroff my ryght trusty and ful entyrelly welbelovyd Mr. Magnus director of my counysel can mak credible report. And thus the moost glorious trynytye have yowe, my mooste drad and

soverayne lord, yn hys moost gracious tuition. At yowre Castel off Pontefrete, the laste day off Januarye.

Your most lawly servant,

II. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto the kyngges mooste gracious hyghenes.

[State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, X. 2.]

In moost humble wyse I desyer your good grace off yowre dayly blessinge, advertysynge the same that I have writen unto the kynges hyghnes, makynge my mooste humble intercession unto the same, for on harnes to exercyse my self yn armys accordyng to my erudition in the commentaries off Cesar. In mooste humble wyse besechyng yowre sayde grace to be meane for me unto the kynges hyghenes yn thys behalfe. And my trust ys that I shall as wel yn thys thyng as yn all other my lernynges so do my diligens and endeavour that yt shalbe to the hyghe contentation as well off the kynges sayd hyghenes as off yowre grace. And thus owre moost mareyfull savywr in Christ have yow, my moost honorable lord and lovyng godfather, yn hys moost blessyd and perpetual protection. At Pontefret the last day off Januarye.

Yowre ful humble godsone:

II. RYCHEMONDE.

Directed, Unto my lorde Legate's good grace.

Indorsed, From the duke of Richemond, ultima Januarii, 1527.

Whilst the duke of Richmond's present life was thus checquered only by the alternate frowns of his schoolmaster and the blandishments of his more indulgent courtiers, his future destiny already entered into the speculations of political diplomacy. The balance of European power had been unsettled by the victories of Charles the Fifth, and the capture of the French king at the battle of Pavia. In the course of the year 1527 Rome itself was sacked by the invaders, and the holy father became a captive. At an earlier period of this struggle the territory of Milan had been conquered by the Spaniards, and Francesco Sforza, its duke, surrendered the citadel of his capital on the 24th July, 1526. During the progress of these events the English monarch indulged a variety of visionary schemes for his own aggrandisement at the expense of some of the losing parties; and, as Lord Herbert "gathered, out of some treaties between the king and the

emperor, he laboured to make his natural son FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, duke of Milan, upon some advantageous conditions proposed to that end.”*

A letter of Wolsey, published by the State Papers Commission, throws further light upon this statement. But somewhat earlier in point of date is a letter of sir John Russell, addressed to the king from Rome on the 11th Feb. 1526-7, in which it is stated, “The saying is here that mons^r. de Vaudemontes commyng hither was to have the pope’s nyce,† and that the duke of Albany laborith asmuch as he can that the king of Scottes shuld have her, and the duke of Ferrare in like wise laboreth for his son. Then I showed sir Gregory [de Casales] that I thought she shuld be a mete marriage for my lorde of Richemounde, and so amongst other communications we asked the datary whether mons^r. de Vaudemout went about such thinges or noo, and he said nay. We said than that, if the pope’s holines wold marry her to have good alliaunce, we knew where he shuld bistow her better than of anny that is yet rehersed, vizt. upon a duche in Ingland, that might spend as muche as two of the best of them. And he perceyvid straicte whome we ment, and thought that the pope’s holines woldbe very wel contentyd to have suche alliaunce. We said we had no comission to speke of no suche thinges, but that we did was upon our owne myndes. Yf your highnes thinke this mete, please you to advertise us of your pleasure in that behalf.”‡

At the same period the English ambassadors with the emperor were instructed to make the like advances in that quarter. Their account of a personal interview with the emperor has been already given.§ They proceeded from him immediately to his minister the count de Nassau, who was prepared to discuss the subject with them. “For a convenient marriage for the duke of Richmond,” says Lee, “he asked me whom I thought meet. I answered I had little knowledge of the emperor’s blood. He said the emperor hath the queen of Denmark’s daughters, his nieces, how think you by them? I said I know not what shall please the king, ne we have comission to speak of any person, but I trow I have heard

* Herbert’s *M.S. Collections*, vol. ii. p. 155, as quoted in *Nott’s Life of Surrey*, p. xxxvi.

† A daughter, I believe, of Magnifico Juliano de’ Medici. She was still unmarried in 1533, when the duke of Orleans was likely to have her. *State Papers*, vii. 427.

‡ *State Papers*, vol. vi. p. 564.

§ See p. xiv.

that the dowager of Portugal * hath a daughter. Ee, saith he, but she is for the dolphin, by the treaty of Madrid.

“ I forgatt afor he said, touching the marriage of the duke of Richmond. We will offer you no bastard. The emperor bestowd one with the heir of the duke of Ferrara, and gave with her the country of Carpio, worth ten thousand ducats by year, and yet we have another born in Spain.”

Later in the same year, we find Wolsey pursuing the scheme of asking for the emperor's niece, “ the daughter of Portugal.” To a letter which he wrote from Compeigne, on the 11th Sept. 1527, addressed to doctor Lee and sir Francis Poyntz, the English ambassadors in Spain, he attached the following postscript, of which the passages printed in *italic* were written in cypher:—

“ Post scripta. After thise my letters writen and dated, to thintent thempour and his counsail might the better consider suche reasons and persuasions as therein be conteigned, by meanes wherof he should the rather be induced, at the king's contemplacion, to remyt the having of Mylain for hym self, I thought convenient that the same my letters should be translated into Frenche for your better informacion, to thintent that ye merking and taking out suche sentences and clauses as may exasperate the said emperour for the composing of thentended purpose, ye may showe unto hym the same clauses, not forgetting in any wise to renew *and cal upon the mater of the duke of Richmond's mariage to the dowghter of Portingale, and the gifte of the duchy of Mylayn in contemplacion of the same mariage*; setting forth in *suche wise and mater as the French ambassadors take no jelousye or suspicion therby*, and by all possible means to *experiment whider the emperour dothe meane good faythe therin or no*; supposing that, nowe he shalbe informed of this *indissoluble conjuncion betwene the French king and the kinges highnes, the said emperour doth minde nothing les in erthe than the sayd duchy shold be given to the duke of Richemont*; *nevertheles* it shalbe righte expedient by all convenable waies to *taste and prove what the emperour's intencion and minde is in this behalf*.” †

* Catharina Posthuma, widow of John III. of Portugal, another sister of the emperor. Her daughter Mary was subsequently the first wife of Philip II. of Spain. The dauphin at this time was afterwards Henry II., who married Catharine de' Medici.

† State Papers, vol. vi. p. 605.

It was therefore at some time in the year 1527 that this project of making the duke of Richmond duke of Milan had been mooted in the negotiations between Henry and the emperor: subsequently, in 1534, the emperor restored the duke Francesco Sforza, giving him in marriage his niece the daughter of Christian II. king of Denmark, but when the duke died without issue in the following year,* Milan was finally annexed to the empire.

We now resume the series of original letters written by the duke of Richmond when in Yorkshire to his royal father:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 106.]

Pleas yt yowre hyghenes to be advertised, that (as I am highly bouynden) uppon my knees moost humbly, I beseche yowre sayde hyghenes, of yowre dayly blissyng. Acertaynyng the same, that yowre servante syr Rycharde Tempest† this berer was here w^t me yn the feaste of alle sayntes, And at alle tymes ys redy to do unto me alle the pleasuyre he can, not only yn gevyng hys attendaunce uppon me at sondry tymes, But also otherwyses, Wherefore I thynke I can do no lesse then to advertyse yowre sayde hyghenes off the good service that thys sayde berer dothe unto yowre hyghenes yn these partes, and off the pleasuyres he shewyth unto me at alle seasons. And almyghety Gode have yow, my mooste dradde soverayne lorde, yn hys mooste blessyd tuition and governaunce. At yowre Castelle off Pontefret, the iij^{de} daye of Novembre, w^t t^hand off yowre moost lowly servant,

Directel, Unto the kynges hyghenes.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

The next letter, the penmanship of which is remarkably fair, and which was professedly intended for an exhibition of the writer's progress in that art, may also probably be assigned to the same season.

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 109.]

Pleas it your hyghenes to be advertised that at thys tyme I do write

* King Henry himself afterwards contemplated marriage with the duchess of Milan, and it is to that lady the bon-mot has been attributed, that, if she had had but two heads, one should have been at his majesty's service.

† Richard Tempest was one of the esquires of the king's body in 1513, and a knight at the time of the Field of Cloth of Gold, in 1520. (See *Chronicle of Calais*, p. 20.) He was of Bracewell, in Craven; see his pedigree in Whitaker's History of that Deanery.

unto the same not oonly to make a demonstracion off thys my proceedinge in writinge, but also in my moost humble and moost lowly wise to beseche youre highenes off youre dayly blissinge and pardone, for that I have so long tyme delayed and forborne to write unto your saide highenes, to whos moste gracious favoure and goodnes no Creature livinge ys more bound thene I am, And as it hathe pleased God and youre mooste gratius highnes to preferre a* advance me in honoure, So in like wise I shal endeavour my selffe and applye my tyme to thattaynyngge off lerninge vertue and connyng correspondente to the same, like as I truste thys berar Maister Magnus directoure off my Counsaile can make relation unto youre saide highenes, whom almyghtie God evermor have in his moste blissyd tuition and governance. Written at Shireff hooton the fourthe daye off Marche by youre mooste humble servante,

H. RICHEMONDE.

Indorsed, Unto the kinges highnes.

The same composition served for a letter addressed at the same time to his godfather the cardinal legate, and, as it happens, the original of this is also preserved,† although in a different depositary; with its necessary variations of expression, it is as follows:—

Pleas yt your grace to bee advertised that at thys tyme I do write unto the same not oonly to make a demonstracion off thys my proceeding in writinge, but also in my righte humble and lowly wise to beseche youre grace off youre dayly blissinge and pardone, for that I have soo longe tyme delayed and forborne to write unto youre grace, to whos favoure and goodnes no Creature livinge ys more bounde thene I am, And like as it hathe pleased almightie God and the kinges highnes moche parte by the meanes and good favoure off your grace to preferre and advance me in honor, So shal I (God willinge) endeavor my selffe and applye my tyme for thattaynyng and enereas off lernynge vertue and cunnyng correspondente to the same, wherby I may be more able to do unto the kingis highnes suebe service hereafter as shal consiste with his mooste gracious pleasure, wiche off alle thyng, under God, is and shalbe my oonly myende entent

* *Sic*.

† In the MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. f. 13 b. A modernized version was given in Dr. Nott's Life of Surrey, Appendix, No. III. p. vii.

and purpoos. As maister Magnus thys berer Director off my Counsaill shalle make relacion unto youre grace, Whome almyghtie God evermore have in his mooste hoolie and blissed tuyeion and governance. At Shireff hutton the fourthe daye off Marche by youre mooste humble godsonc,

*Small seal, the device apparently a camel.**

H. RYCHEMONDE.

Direction, Unto my lord Legate's good grace.

The year 1528 was signalised by the prevalence of the fatal epidemic disease called the sweating-sickness, which did not spare some of the principal courtiers. The attendants of the duke of Richmond shared the alarm, from the disease appearing in the parish of Pontefract, and on the 31st of May his chamberlain addressed the following letter to Wolsey, which gives a remarkable account of this extraordinary disease.†

[State Paper Office, Wolsey Correspondence, IX. 170.]

Please it your grace to be advertised that my lorde of Richemounde with all his trayne at the making hereof bee in good helthe (laudes bee to almyghtie God); howe bee it, considering that there bee six persones lately disseased within the lordship of Pountefrete, whereof twoo bee of the town of Pountefrete, and the other foure bee of the parishe, and that many young childrene bee sike of the pokkes nere thereaboutes, forwhiche causes I by thadvise and consente of the counsaill of my said lorde of Richemounde have at this present tyme removed his lordshipe into Ledestone, which is a house belonging unto the prior of Pountefrete, being thre myles from the king owr souverain lordes castell of Pountefrete. The foresaid six persones sikened and died of this maner. Furste they were takene with a great cold, and after that strikene into a fervent heat and sweting, whereupon theyr righte myendes were takne from theym, and soo died. Moost humbly beseching youre highnes to considre what great daunger it is for my said lorde in this tyme of suche straunge infirmities to bee distitute of a phisicion. And that it maye like your grace to provyde suche oone as your grace shall seme (*sic*) fitte and suffi-

* The letters in the State Paper Office have all lost their seals.

† Some particulars of the subsequent incursion of this epidemic in the year 1551 will be found in Machyn's Diary, p. 319, and the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 70.

ciente to serve in that behalf. As the hooly Trinytie knowethe, who evermore have youre grace in his mooste blessed governaunce, my righte singler good and gracious lorde. Written at my said souverain lordes Castell of Pountefrete the laste daye of Maye, by youre mooste humble servaunte,

WYLLIAM PARRE.

Directed, To my lorde legates good grace.

On the very day the preceding letter was written, sir William Compton, a great favourite with the king, died of the sickness at court, and the king in consequence retired to Tittenhanger, a manor belonging to Wolsey, in Hertfordshire, where he appears to have remained in privacy for many weeks. On the 21st of July a letter * was addressed to the king by the duke of Richmond (but not written by his own hand), acknowledging that he had received two letters from his highness dated at Tittenhanger on the 10th of the same month, wherein the king's wishes had been expressed in favour of his servant sir Giles Strangwisshe knight, and of sir Edward Seymour,† master of the duke of Richmond's horses, for such rooms and offices ‡ appertaining to the duke's gift in Dorsetshire as had become vacant by the death of sir William Compton,§

* Printed in State Papers, 4to. 1830, ii. 321.

† Afterwards the king's brother-in-law, duke of Somerset and Protector to his nephew king Edward VI.

‡ From a MS. slip preserved with this letter it appears that the offices in question were as follow :

“ These be the lordships belongging to my Lordes grace of Richmonde and Sommerset.		
The Countie of	Canford	} The Stewardes fee is c ^s .
Dorsetshire.	Corff Castle	
	Cockden hundred and the Ile of Purbyke	
Sommersetshire.	The Borough of Milborne port	} The Stewardes fee is vj ^{li} xij ^s iiij ^d besides lx ^s which his clerk is allowed.
	The Manor of Kingsbury Regis and the hundred of Horethorn	
	The Manor of Quene Cammell	
	The Lordship of Martock	
	The hundred of Stone and Cattisy As ^{she}	
	The manor of Coryrevell	
	The hundred of Abdyke and Bulstone and the borough of Langporte	

§ Probably many papers relative to sir William Compton are preserved among the

namely, the stewardship of Canford, &c. In answer to which request the duke replies that "my lord legate" (Wolsey) had of late signified to him that it was the king's pleasure that when any such offices or benefices appurtenant to his gift should be void, he by the advice of his counsel should dispose and give the same at his liberty; whereupon, considering the great number of his servants, and that none of them had been rewarded since their coming to him, he had already given that office in Dorsetshire to sir William Parre knight, his chamberlain, with a fee of 100 shillings, and the other stewardship in Somersetshire to his trustie and diligent servant George Coton, continually giving his attendance upon him, with the fee of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, concluding with a wish that such disposal might not be disturbed "if it maye stande with your high pleasure." The letter is signed in the duke's own hand,

"Yowre most lowly servant, H. RYCHEMONDE."

The duke of Richmond had returned to Sheriff Hutton before the 7th of October, on which day Magnus wrote to Wolsey thus:—

"Pleas it your good grace to be avertised, that my lorde of Richemondes grace is in right good health and mery. And sithence the begynnynge of the pestiferous and ragious swete that haith reigned, my saide lord till now of late haith lyen and contynued in a private place, with five personages attending upon his saide grace; and neither the same, nor any other his company, haith bene vexed, troubled, nor encombred with that sickenes. And now his saide grace is commen hider, and contynneth amongges his servauntes in his owne house, to their all grete counfortes, seeing his goodly proceedingges in all vertues.

"Of late my lorde of Northumberlande came hither to viset and to see my saide lordes grace, and made suche speciall requeste, sute, and instaunce that he mought have my saide lorde to see his house and manor of Topeliff, *

papers at the Rolls house. I have noticed,—No. 1263, Inventory of sir William Compton, his goods at Windsor, Compton, &c.; No. 1264, names of the Stewards and Bailies of Mr. Cumption his landys; No. 1370, Stewards of sir William Compton's lands.

* The earls of Northumberland had a manor-house called Cockridge, or Cockledge, in the parish of Topeliff, four miles from Thirsk; and it was from thence that Henry the fourth earl was in 1489 taken by a mob of the country people and beheaded at Thirsk. (See Gentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1851.) No account of the house is preserved; Leland, who describes in so remarkable and interesting a manner his visits to the earl's houses at

that theruppon they passed thider booth to gader; where as my saide lorde of Northumberlande had my said lorde oune night, and did unto hym all the honour and pleasure he couth in the mooste goodly and humble maner. And I assure your grace my lorde of Richemonde for his partye did use hymselfe, not like a childe of his tender age, but moore like a man in all his behavours, as well in commynnycation as others, fasionnyng every thing to the beste purpose."

The same letter afterwards states that the duke had also been visited by the lord Dacre, on his journey southward.*

Almost immediately after, the duke of Richmond appears to have received the earl and countess of Westmerland at Sheriff Hutton, accompanied by their son the lord Neville,† who was left to reside with him for a time. Of this arrival he informed the king in the following letter, the last that is dated from Sheriff Hutton:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 119.]

In my mooste humble and mooste lawly maner I beseche your highenes off your daily blissynge, Advertisinge the same that, thankes be to God and to yowr said highenes, I have paste this last Sommere withoute any perelle or daunger off the ragious swete that haithe reigned in these partis and other, and myche the better I truste with the helpe off suche preservatives as your highenes did sende unto me, wheroff mooste humble and mooste lawly I thanke the same, Acertanyng yowre grace that at this present tyme be here withe me my lorde off Wistmoorlande and my lady his wyffe, and have broughte unto me to attend upon me the lorde Nevelle thaire sonne and heire. And thus almighty God have you, my mooste dradde souveraine lorde, in his mooste blessyd preservacion. At my Castelle off Shereif hooton, withe the hand of your lawly servant,

Directed,
Unto the kinges highenes.

H. Rychemond:—

Wressel and Leckenfield, did not go to Topcliffe; but he enumerates it in a list of "the erle of Northumbrelondes castelles and manors," as "Topclif on Suale, a goodly manerhouse yn a parke."

* State Papers, vol. iv. p. 516.

† Henry afterwards the fifth earl of Westmerland and K.G. He succeeded his father in 1549, and died in 1563.

We have only one more of the duke's letters: which is in Latin, and in a hand still more exactly representing printed characters. It was written at Hatfield, near Doncaster;* and contains a warm eulogium on his late servant Matthew Boynton†:—

[State Paper Office, Domestic, II. 120.]

S. Et tu clarissime princeps occasiones obligandi me avidissime amplecteris & ego nemini libentius debeam, proinde humanitate tua fretus quid velim paucis aperiam. Mattheus Boynton nuper minister mihi fuit, vir, ita me dij ament, summa integritate, pari constancia, nec minore verecundia, moribus vero perquam festivis, amat me, nihil possum dicere ardentius, ut tu, hunc si tuo dignatus fueris obsequio, habebis me habebis ipsum gratissimum debitorem. Christus opt. serenitatem tuam incolumem tueatur. Hatfeldiæ, quinto cal. ap.

Servulus tuus humilimus,

Directed, Celsitudini Regiæ.

H. RYCHEMONDE.

This letter is indorsed, "The Duke of Richemond to the Kinges Matie in the commendacion of Mathewe Boynton."

It was on the 2d Dec. 1527, as already stated, that the duke of Richmond was superseded in his command of the Scottish marches by the young earl of Northumberland, who had succeeded to the honours of his house by his father's death in the preceding May. But some of the foregoing letters have shown that the duke of Richmond did not immediately quit his residence in the North.

After an interval of two or three years only, the still more exalted office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was bestowed upon the king's son; but we have not the exact date of the grant, the patent not appearing on the roll.‡

* Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, afterwards a palace of Henry VIII., belonged to the see of Ely until the year 1538. The Yorkshire Hatfield was the birth-place of one of the sons of Edward the Third, named William of Hatfield, whose effigy remains in York minster. In the fifteenth century it was occasionally the residence of Richard duke of York, whose eldest son Henry was born there in 1441. It was a hunting lodge, built for the sake of sport in Hatfield Chace, and Leland describes it as but builded meanly of timber. In 1607 it was in great ruin. (See Hunter's "South Yorkshire," i. 155.)

† Matthew Boynton, of Barmston, co. York, great-grandfather of sir Matthew the first Baronet, created in 1618. His wife was Anne daughter of sir John Bulmer, and granddaughter of old sir William the duke's steward.

‡ In the Correspondence regarding Ireland published by the State Papers Commission,

It was probably immediately before his appointment of Sir William Skeffington as his deputy, which was made on the 22d June, 1530. The duke never visited the shores of Ireland in person;* but he continued lord-lieutenant until his death.

On the 9th Aug. 1529, he was one of the temporal lords then summoned to parliament, although at that time only ten years of age.

The king retained him now more within his own view. He was with the king at Windsor on St. George's Day, 1530, when the knights of the Garter kept the feast in solemn procession;† and it was on the very next day that the king's fletcher was paid 20s. for arrows which he had supplied to "my lord of Richmond." In the following spring the king gave him a

vol. ii. p. 147, are two notes, which state that the duke of Richmond was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the 22d June, 1529, and held that office till his death; and that sir William Skeffington was first appointed Lord Deputy in August 1529. These dates appear to be erroneous. The duke's grant of the office of deputy to sir William Skeffington, knt. was dated 22 June, 1530, as appears by the Patent Roll of Ireland, 22 Hen. VIII.; his grant of the same office to Gerald FitzGerald, earl of Kildare, 5 July, 1532, on Rot. Pat. Hib. 24 and 25 Hen. VIII. and again 30 July, 1534, on Rot. Pat. Hib. 25, 26, and 27 Hen. VIII. When there was no lord-lieutenant (and the last had been Thomas earl of Surrey, from 1520 to 1522), the king himself appointed the lord-deputy, and in 1521 it had been a question whether the appointment of a deputy was in the power of the lieutenant. (State Papers, Irish Correspondence, i. 92.) In the duke of Richmond's case, of course, no such difficulty could arise; but it is remarkable that, whilst the records of Ireland fully recognise both sir William Skeffington and the earl of Kildare as deputies of the duke of Richmond the king's lieutenant, in many instances the former is described as the deputy at once of the king and the lieutenant, as in the following example. In 1530 (Sept. 19) the office of keeper of the rolls was granted to Anthony Skeffington the king's chaplain "de assensu dilecti et fidelis nostri Willielmi Skeffington deputati nostri ac precharissimi et dilectissimi consanguinei nostri Henrici ducis Richmond et Somersett, de prosapia nostra orti, locum tenentis nostri terre et domini nostri Hibernie. Teste prefato deputato nostro apud Dublin." (Rot. Mem. 22 Hen. VIII. mem. 15.) Subsequently, Leonard lord Grey bears the like designation, until the duke of Richmond's death in 1536. In the State Paper office (Ireland, No. 20) is a copy of Instructions given by the kynges highenes to his trusty counsaillour sir William Skeffington knyght, Master of the Ordenaunces, whom his grace hath constituted and ordeyned to be Deputie unto his right trusty and right entirely welbeloved cousin the duke of Rychemont and of Somersett, lieutenant of his lande of Ireland: they bear no contemporary date. They are printed in the State Papers, as above, ii. 147.

* His "teste apud Dublin" was a legal fiction: see Additional Note.

† See the ceremonial observed on this occasion in the Register of the Garter, by Anstis, vol. ii. Appendix, No. VII.

lute;† an instrument upon which his majesty was himself skilled, as we see commemorated in his beautiful illuminated psalter now preserved in the British Museum.

When the king went to France, in the autumn of 1532, in order to hold an interview with Francis I. he was attended by nearly the whole of his peers, and the duke of Richmond was among them.* He did not, however, accompany the king to Boulogne; but when, on the 25th October, Francis returned with Henry to Calais, “without the town, about the distance of two miles, the duke of Richmond, the king’s base son, with a great companie of noble men which had not beene at Bullougne, met them, and saluting the French king, embraced him in a most honorable and courteous manner.”† Two days after, a chapter of the Garter was held at Calais, in which the French king was present, and voted for the election (among others) of the duc de Vendosme, the comte de Beaumont (grand master of France, and afterwards duc de Montmorenci,) and the comte de Newblanche (admiral of France). The duke of Richmond voted next, and gave his suffrages for—(princes) the comte de Beaumont, the comte de Newblanche, and the earl of Derby; (barons) lord Montaugn, lord Laware, and lord Powis; (knights) sir Nicholas Carew, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir Giles Strangwich. The grand master and admiral of France were elected.‡

† “The xxiiij daye of Aprill, 1530, paied to Guilliam the kinges Fletcher for arowes for my lord of Richemond	xx s.
“The xxvij daye paid to my lord of Richemondes norse in rewarde	xl s.
“Item, the ij th daye of May, 1531, paied to Arthur the lewter for a lewte for the duke of Richemond	xx s.
“Item, the xxiiij daye of January, 1532, paied in rewarde to a physieian that went to my lorde of Richemond	xl s.

(The Privy purse Expenses of King Henry the Eighth from Nov. 1529 to Dec. 1532, edited by N. H. Nicolas, esq. Svo. 1827, pp. 40, 41, 131, 189.)

* “The xj. day of October Henry the Eighth, kynge of England, landyd at Calcis, with the duke of Richmond his bastard sonne, the duke of Norfolke lorde tresorer of England, . . . the erle of Surrey,” &c. &c. See the rest of the train enumerated in *The Chronicle of Calais* (printed for the Camden Society), p. 41.

† Hall’s *Chronicle*, 1548, fol. cc.vij.

‡ Register of the Garter, ii. 389.

After this royal conference, according to Lord Herbert and other authors, the duke of Richmond remained for some time at the French court, accompanied by the poet earl of Surrey: and this account is apparently confirmed by a passage in "The Chronicle of Calais," which states that in "1533, the xxv. of September, the duke of Richmond, bastard sonne to king Henry the Eighth, and the erle of Surrey, came to Caleys owt of Fraunce, where they had bene almoste xij monthes."

Yet, it is irreconcilable with this statement that the earl of Surrey is related to have carried the fourth sword at the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn in May, 1533, and that in the same month the duke of Richmond is recorded to have been the sovereign's lieutenant at the feast of the order of the Garter.*

On Saint George's day, 1533, at a chapter of the Garter, held at Greenwich, it was determined that the annual feast should be kept at Windsor on the 17th of May following, and that the "*inclytus juvenis Rychmondiae dux meritissimus*" should supply the sovereign's place on that occasion, assisted by the duke of Norfolk, the marquess of Exeter, the earl of Northumberland, and lord Burgavenny; which was performed accordingly.†

* On this disputed matter, which is one of some importance in regard to Surrey's biography, it is perhaps desirable to quote all that Dr. Nott says: "The Duke of Richmond, instead of returning to England, went to Paris, to complete his studies in the university there; and to learn all the elegant and polite accomplishments which were to be acquired at the French Court. It is said that Surrey attended his noble friend thither." Dr. Nott then appends this note, "Dodd, in his Church History, expressly asserts this, and adds, that both Surrey and Richmond went to Paris to learn French! What credit may be given to Dodd the reader will decide when he learns that, according to that historian, Surrey went from Paris to meet Henry at Calais when he landed there on his road to Boulogne: and that one of his motives for going to Florence, was to see the Fair Geraldine: he returned, he says, from his tour about the year 1540. Vol. i. p. 172." Dr. Nott then proceeds in his text, "The fact, I believe, rests wholly on conjecture; but the conjecture is a probable one. It was then the fashion, as it ever has been with some, to send their sons to study in foreign universities. . . . Still the point is uncertain. One thing, however, is clear. Admitting that Surrey went with Richmond to the French Court, his residence there was not of long duration. Neither did it produce any sensible effect on either his taste or his studies," &c.

† Register of the Garter, ii. 393. A limning of the knights of the Garter in procession, made in 26 Hen. VIII. (1534), represents the duke of Richmond as the senior knight. (Ibid. vol. ii. App. p. xlii.)

These discrepancies can only be reconciled by the supposition that, though the period in question was for the most part passed by these young gallants at the French court, they temporarily came home for the queen's coronation.* The duke of Norfolk, Surrey's father, was sent as ambassador to France in the same summer. He arrived at the French court about the middle of July.† About the middle of August he sent home lord Rochford by post with a message to king Henry; whereupon the latter commanded the ambassador to return immediately,‡ and he also recalled the duke of Richmond, as well as his ambassadors to the pope. As the Calais chronicler says, the duke of Norfolk returned in haste, "for the pope would not speak with him or his company." He passed through Calais on the 29th of August, nearly a month before his son and the duke of Richmond.

It was at the same time, or very shortly after, that the king, relinquishing his former ideas of an alliance with the sovereign houses of the continent, selected for his son a wife from the then favoured house of Howard, which was exercising a predominant influence from the position of their cousin Anne Boleyn upon the throne. The lady Mary Howard was the duke of Norfolk's only daughter. Notwithstanding the duke of Richmond's illegitimacy, the parties were deemed to be within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, and the consequent papal dispensation was dated on the 26th of November, 1533.§ Of the marriage ceremony no account

* This, however, is to suppose that they passed unobserved by the Calais chronicler, whose business it was to notice all arrivals and departures of great men. But it might be so if they travelled post, without their retinue and baggage, as lord Rochford shortly after did.

† *Mémoires de Du Bellay.*

‡ "Lequel seigneur Roy manda incontinent audit duc de Norfolc prendre congé du Roy de France, et se retirer : aussi revoqua le duc de Richemont son fils naturel estant lors à la cour dudit seigneur Roy de France, et ses ambassadeurs estansriere nostre saint Pere." (*Mémoires du Mess. Martin du Bellay*, fol. 1519, f. 113 F.)

§ "Sed quia quarto consanguinitatis gradu invicem conjuncti estis, vestrum in hac parte desiderium non potestis adimplere, canonica dispensatione desuper non obtenta.—Henricus dux Richmondie et Somerset, com. de Nottingham, magnus admirallus Ang. et præclara femina Maria Howard præpotentis viri Tho. ducis de Norfolkia filia.—Richard. Gwent deputatus pro Pet. de Vannes, 26^o Nov. 1533, 11^o pontif. Clein. VII." (*Frere's MS. Collections*, quoted in *Nott's Life of Surrey*, p. xxviii.)

Sanders, in his history of the English schism (p. 30), states that "The king by his

has been discovered. A letter written some time after by the bride's mother shows that the match was promoted by the queen,* and yet

letters to the pope did, at the same time that he was moving scruples about his own marriage, transact about a dispensation for a marriage betwixt his own natural son the duke of Richmond and his daughter the lady Mary,"—a strange misapprehension, which is censured as a wilful error by Burnet at the close of vol. I. of his *History of the Reformation*.

Part of another document (dated 1538-9) may here be added from Dr. Nott's work : "Cum chariss. consanguineus noster Henricus nuper dux Richmondie et Somerset et comes Nott. jam defunctus in tenera ætate sua dominam Mariam filiam charissimi consanguinei nostri Tho. ducis Norff. cepit in uxorem, qui quidem dux Rich. et Som. ante carnal. cop. inter ipsam et dominam Mariam habitam viam universæ carnis ingressus fuerit," &c. See further of this document, which relates to the duchess's dower, in Nott's Appendix, p. xevii.

It will be observed, the marriage was not considered complete. Notices of the discussions that took place after the duke's death as to its validity will be found in Strype, *Life of Crammer*, p. 45; Ellis's *Original Letters*, II. ii. 83; and *State Papers*, 1830, 4to. i. pp. 575, 577. I shall not enter further in this place into the history of Mary duchess of Richmond, having already compiled an article on her biography, which is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1845. Her reputation has suffered severely, and I think unjustly, from the testimony she was required to give at her brother's trial; and, as she was a decided Protestant, she has received little mercy from the usual eulogists of the house of Howard. It might rather be argued that she was a lady of extraordinary excellence and self-denial, because, at a period when it was very customary for widows to rush into second marriages with men of inferior rank, she remained sole, and devoted herself to the education of the children of her unfortunate brother. At the same time it must be admitted that the unsettled question of her dower protected her from the ordinary herd of fortune-hunting suitors. Her portrait occurs among the Holbein Heads by Chamberlain.

* The duchess of Norfolk, in this letter, contrasts the circumstances of her daughter's marriage with her own. Great alliances were purchased by expensive settlements, or sometimes by money actually paid to the parents. The duke of Norfolk, writes the duchess Elizabeth, "had with me two thousand marks:" and previously, in contemplation of a different alliance, "my father had bought my lord of Westmerlande for me." Therefore, "I thynke by the law I schuld have my jointre as well as my doȝter of Richmonde, for the kynge's grace had never a peyny for my lord of Richemond, for qwene Anne gatt the maryage clere for my lorde my husbond, when sche dyd favour my lorde my husbond. I here qwene Anne say that yff my lorde of Richemond dyd dyc, that my doȝter schuld have above a thosand li. a yere to hyr jointur," &c. (Letter of Elizabeth duchess of Norfolk to lord privy seal Cromwell, 24 Oct. 1537, MS. Cotton. Titus B. 1. f. 383, printed by Nott, Appx. p. lxxii.)

another letter of the duchess of Richmond herself declares that the king “himself alone made the marriage.”*

To the period which now ensued we may properly assign that happy time at Windsor castle, which is described in one of the most beautiful and best known of the earl of Surrey’s poems. A misconception or forced interpretation of this poem was the origin of all the unfounded speculations upon the education of both parties to which allusion has already been made. The only excuse for such misconception lay in the phrase “childish years,” though the employments which are described are fully significant of the real period of life intended. The poem is so strictly biographical, in describing the ordinary sports and exercises of the duke of Richmond and his companions, that it cannot be omitted in this place; but the reader may be referred for verbal criticisms and explanations, if he requires them, to the ample annotations of Dr. Nott:—

So cruell prison how could betyde, alas!
 As proude Windsore? where I in lust and joy
 With a Kynges Sonne my childish yeres did passe,
 In greater feasts than Priam’s sonnes of Troy.
 Where each swete place returns a taste full sour,—
 The large Green Court, where we were wont to hove,
 With eyes cast up into the Maiden’s tower,
 And easy sighes, such as folkes draw in love.
 The statly seates, the ladies bright of hewe,
 The daunces short, long tales of greate delight;
 With wordes and lookes that tygers could but rewe
 Where eche of us did plead the other’s right.
 The palme-play, where, despoiled for the game,
 With dazed eyes oft we by gleames of love
 Have myst the ball, and got sight of our dame,
 To bayte her eyes, which kept the leads above.
 The Gravel-Ground, with sleeves tyde on the helm,
 On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts,
 With chere as though one should another whelm,
 Where we have fought, and chased oft with darts.

* “—— his hyegthnes shuld be mowed to have compassion on me, consederynge that he hemselfe alone made the maryege.” (Letter of Mary duchess of Richmond to her father the duke of Norfolk.)

With silver drops the meade yet spread for ruth,
 In active games of nimbleness and strength
 Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
 Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.
 The secret groves, which oft we made resound
 Of pleasant playnt, and of our ladies prayse;
 Recording oft what grace each one had found,
 What hope of speede, what dread of long delayes.
 The wild forèste, the clothed holts with grene;
 With reins availed, and swift y-breathed horse,
 With cry of hounds, and merry blasts betwene,
 Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.
 The voide walls eke that harborde us eche night;
 Wherewith, alas ! revive within my breast
 The sweet accorde, such slepes as yet delight,
 The pleasant dreames, the quiet bed of rest;
 The secret thoughtes, imparted with such trust;
 The wanton talke, the divers change of play;
 The friendship sworne, eche promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter nightes away.
 And with this thought the blood forsakes the face,
 The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe:
 The which as soon as sobbing sighs, alas !
 Upsupped have, thus I my plaint renew:
 O place of bliss ! renewer of my woes !
 Give me accompt, where is my noble fere ?
 Whom in thy walles thou didst each night inclose,
 To other leefe, but unto me most deare.
 Echo, alas ! that doth my sorrow rewe,
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of playnt;
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grewe,
 In prison pyne, with bondage and restraynt:
 And with remembrance of the greater grieve
 To banish the less, I find my chief reliefe.

This poem was written by lord Surrey, in all probability, at the time when he was under restraint at Windsor, in 1542, in consequence of a quarrel with John à Leigh.* If so, it was composed about eight years after the period which it describes, and about six years after Richmond's death;

* It has also been assigned to 1543, when he was again in disgrace for eating flesh in Lent; and to 1546, when he had threatened the earl of Hertford.

and, though we owe to the accidental circumstance of the poet's loss of liberty, which recalled the scenes of happier days, this passionate expression, after such a lapse of time, of his affectionate regard for his early companion, still we cannot doubt that the sentiments thus revived had been entertained with all the sincerity that is depicted, nor that they had originated in more than ordinary claims, on the part of their object, to his affection and esteem. "One year," remarks Dr. Nott, "one short year, the most unclouded perhaps in Surrey's life, was thus spent at Windsor, in that sweet alternation of study and active employment, which, mingled with gay hopes, and the vague but eager expectation of future happiness in store, renders youth the season of our greatest enjoyment, and endears the recollection of it to the latest period of mortal existence."

On the 20th of January, 1533-4, the duke of Richmond was present at a chapter of the Garter held at Westminster, to fill a vacancy caused by the death of the lord Mountjoy; and on that occasion he gave his votes for—(princes) the king of Scotland, the king of Portugal, and the earl of Derby; (barons) the lord Rochford, the lord Windsor, and the lord Dacre; (knights) sir William Courtenay, sir Anthony Browne, and sir Giles Strangwysh. The election fell on the king of Scotland.*

A session of parliament commenced on the 15th of January, 1533-4, which was opened as usual by the king in person, and the duke of Richmond was in attendance; and it is very remarkable that, although he was then only fourteen years of age, he was present during the sittings of thirty-two days of that session, and absent on thirteen only. The parliament was prorogued by the king in person on the 30th of March, the duke of Richmond being in attendance.†

On St. George's day, 1536, the duke was present at a chapter of the Garter held at Greenwich. There was one vacancy in the order to be supplied, and the duke of Richmond gave his suffrages for—(princes) the king of Portugal, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Worcester; (barons) lord Rochford, lord Delawarre, lord Dacre; (knights) sir Nicholas Carew,

* Register of the Garter, ii. 394, 395.

† Journals of the House of Lords, vol. i. In the next session, which sat from the 12th June to the 18th July, 1536, the duke of Richmond was never present: from which we may perhaps infer that his last illness was of some duration.

sir Giles Strangways, and sir Anthony Browne. Sir Nicholas Carew, who had the suffrages of all the knights present, was elected.*

On the 19th of the following month the unhappy queen Anne, the cousin of the Howards, met her death upon the scaffold within the Tower of London. Her uncle the duke of Norfolk had presided at her trial as lord steward, and his son the earl of Surrey as earl marshal; and among the principal spectators at her execution are recorded to have been the king's new chief minister Cromwell, lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Suffolk, and the duke of Richmond.†

After the decapitation of George Boleyn viscount Rochford, which took place two days before that of his sister the queen, the offices of constable of Dover castle and warden of the Cinque Ports were conferred on the duke of Richmond;‡ but he held them for a very short time, for he was now himself hastening to the tomb.

The premature death of the subject of this memoir occurred on the 22d of July following. It is strange that neither in the chronicles nor in the letters of the time have been discovered any particulars of his illness, or any comments upon the king's reception of his loss.§ As a passing oc-

* Register of the Garter, ii. 400.

† Miss Strickland has expressed herself with extraordinary vehemence upon this occasion. She remarks that the disgraced queen, on ascending the scaffold, "there saw assembled the lord mayor and some of the civic dignitaries, and her great enemy the duke of Suffolk, with Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, who had, in defiance of all decency and humanity, come thither to distract her last moments with their unfriendly espionage, and to feast their eyes upon her blood." Mr. Tytler, on the other hand, views the circumstance in a very different light: he says the scaffold "was surrounded by those only whom the jealous precautions of Henry had selected to be witnesses rather than spectators."—(Life of Henry VIII. in Edinburgh Cabinet Library, 1837, p. 381.) It is very doubtful whether any motives are fairly attributable to those present at such acts of public justice. Among those whom the chroniclers name as having been present on these occasions are generally found the sufferers' most intimate friends, though perhaps not in immediate attendance upon them: nor did their enemies from any delicacy keep away. State executions were really public ones, and presence at them implied no coarseness of feeling in men who were too much accustomed to greater horrors.

‡ Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, p. 130.

§ We merely gather, from a paper subsequently written by the duke of Norfolk in his troubles, that the king received the sad news at Sittingbourne: "I was never at Dover

currence, the duke of Richmond's death was recorded by the chroniclers with those eulogies on his character and accomplishments which have been already cited in this memoir. A French poet, Nicolas de Bourbon,* who had spent some time in England, in the following lines represents the whole country as sharing the grief of the royal father:—

In Henrici Richmondia Ducis D. Henrici VIII. Britannorum Regis filii obitum.

Henricum rex Henricus nunc luget, et omnis

Cum Rege flet Britannia.

Ô Mors, si talem violasti, cui tua tandem

Superstitum pareet manus?

Nicolaï Borboni, Vandoperani Lingonensis, Nugarum
lib. v. carmen xx. Lugduni, 1538, p. 284.

The event took place at the palace of St. James's by Westminster; and the body of the deceased was carried for interment to the priory of Thetford, in Norfolk, that being then the place of sepulture of the house of Howard, into which he had married. It is probable that some account of the ceremonial of his funeral was written, as was usual, by the attendant heralds, but no copy of it has been found in the library of the College of Arms or elsewhere.

Bloomfield, in his History of Thetford, printed in 1739, relates that the duke was buried in that church, “but at the Dissolution his body and monument were removed with his father-in-law's to Framlingham, where it now remains on the north side of the altar.”

The monument as it now stands in Framlingham church is an oblong mass of masonry, measuring nine feet by five, and four feet nine inches

with his highness since my lord of Richmond died, but at that time, of whose death word came to Syttingborne.”—Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, 1829, III. ii. 256.

* Nicolas Bourbon, a native of Troyes, being patronised by Margaret queen of Navarre, was preceptor to her daughter Jane, afterwards the mother of Henry IV. of France. He came to this country, and taught some of the young nobility. Among his poems is one “De H. Careo, II. Noresio, Th. Harvæo meis olim apud Britannos discipulis—

quos rex et quos mihi regia

Conjux commiserant puellulos.

Whilst in England his portrait was drawn by Holbein, and it is engraved by Bartolozzi among Chamberlain's Holbein Heads.

high; there are no effigies of the deceased,* nor does the upper surface appear complete, but on its four corners stand mutilated statuettes, being figures in long gowns which hold in one hand an antique shield, and in the other a trophy of the Passion. There were originally twelve of these statuettes, one placed above each of the fluted pilasters which divide the sides of the tomb. Immediately below the entablature is a series of twelve bas-reliefs, the subjects of which, though now much injured, have been ascertained to be derived from the following subjects of the Old Testament history:—

North side—1. The Creation of Eve. 2. God placing Adam and Eve in Paradise. 3. The Angel appearing to Adam and Eve in Paradise. 4. Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise.

West end—5. Adam labouring, and Eve nursing Abel, with Cain by his side. 6. Cain and Abel offering sacrifice, and Cain slaying Abel.

South side—7. Noah and his Family in the Ark. 8. Noah asleep, and his three Sons discovering his nakedness. 9. Abraham and Sarah entertaining three Angels. 10. Lot's Wife changed into a Pillar of Salt.

East end—11. Abraham offering up his son Isaac. 12. Moses with the Tables of the Law, and the Worshipping of the Golden Calf.

On larger panels below these bas-reliefs are carved armorial achievements, consisting of repetitions of the three following arrangements:—

1. On a lozenge, quarterly, Howard, Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray.

2. On a shield, the duke's arms impaling his wife's, quarterly as the preceding.

3. The duke's arms alone, within the Garter, surmounted by a coronet.

Above each shield large coronets projected in considerable relief, but these are nearly perished.

There is a folio engraving of the north side of this monument, engraved by J. Wood from a drawing made by Joshua Kirby in 1748, and the same was copied in quarto, in 1797, for Loder's History of Framlingham.

A miniature portrait attributed to Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, was in the collection of the earl of Orford at Strawberry Hill, and an

* It is not improbable that the monument, though very considerable cost must have been expended upon it, was not completely finished when removed from Thetford to Framlingham.

engraving from it (by R. Clamp) was published in Harding's Biographical Mirror, 1794. It represents a person of regular features, but without showing any hair, his head bound in a close nightcap of lace or network; and his only other garment a night-gown, untied and open at the breast. This extraordinary costume in itself affords no chronological criteria, and so many of Horace Walpole's appropriations were imaginary that some further evidence of the identity of this portrait is desirable. At the sale of the Strawberry Hill collection in 1842 the miniature was sold for £7 17s. 6d. to the name of Jarman.

The following documents relate to the state of the duke's household upon his decease. His principal officers, enumerated in the first paper, remain nearly the same as those appointed at the original establishment of his household in 1525:—

[MSS. in the Rolls House, Second Series, No. 843.]

The yerely fees of the laite Duke of Richemondes Counsaile, with the allowance of them selves and thereervauntes joring* and sitting in the causes of justyce as here after followith:—

<i>The number of persones.</i>	<i>Waiges.</i>	<i>Servauntes.</i>
Sir William Parre . . .	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir William Bulmer . . .	xxxiiij ^{li} vjs ^s viij ^d	iiij
Sir Godfray Fuljame . . .	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir Thomas Tempest . . .	xxvj ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d	iiij
Sir William Evers . . .	x ^{li}	ij
The Deane of York . . .	nil	iiij
Mr. Magnus . . .	nil	iiij
Doctor Tate . . .	nil	ij
Serjaunt Fayrefax . . .	x ^{li}	ij
Robart Bowes . . .	x ^{li}	ij

Every of theis hadde iiij^s by the day for hym self, and xij^d for every of their servauntes in the tyme of joryng or sitting in the causes of justyce.

John Uvedale, secretary . . .	x ^{li}	ij
Water Luke, attorney . . .	x ^{li}	ij
William Bapthorpe† . . .	v ^{li}	ij

Every of theis hadde ij^s by the day for hym selfe, and xij^d for every of their servauntes.

* *i.e.* sitting by the *jour* or day.

† Afterwards sir William Bapthorpe, of Bapthorpe, co. York: see his pedigree in the Plumpton Correspondence, p. xii.

Every of theis [this applies to the whole number] hadde lyveries to their chambre as followeth: fyrst their brekefast one loffe, one manchet, a gallon of bere and a peece of beffe; and at nyght one loffe, one manchet, a gallon of bere, a quarte of wyne, di. lb. of white lyghtes, ii. sysses, and iiij falgottes.

[At the Rolls House in two copies, Second Series, Nos. 233 and 470.]

The names [of] gentilmen, yomen, and gromes, laite servantes to the duke of Richmonde.

Gentilmen usshers, seuers, carvers, cup-bearers, and gentilmen waiters.

William Lawson, bailie of Raustall in reversion, ij d. per diem.

Maried.

Giles Foster, M^r of the horses, Stueard of Merton in Westmerland, with the fee iij li. vj s. viij d. per ann.

Christopher Wentworth.

Antony Dryland, bailie of Coliweston, keper of the park and place, with the fee of vj d. by the day.

Rauff Elderearre.

William Willowby.

Thomas Delarivers.

Rauff Bulmer.

Hew Caveley.

Philip Gray.

Martyn Hastings.

George Foreste.

Richard Rose, marshall.

Not maried.

William Blunt.

George Clapham.

George Hartwell.

John Travers.

Nicolas Throgmorton.

Thomas Darey.

John Jenny.

Harry Partriche.

Thomas Hennis, secretarie.

William Sanders.

Clerkes of the Kechen.

Maried.

Thomas Oglestrop.

Not maried.

Robart Metcalf, bailie of Cottingham, with the fee of ij d. by the day.

Yomen of the Chambre.

Maried.

Roger Wytherton, yoman of the chambre.

Nicholas Eton, yoman of the chambre and yoman hunte.

Robart Johns, yoman of the chambre.

Davy Lloidd.

John Hyrde.

William Clark.

Alen Arie.

Robart Tournour.

Robart Norton.

William Dryffelde.

Rowland Atkynson.

Thomas Hardwike.

Bastian Byrde, tabrit.

Not maried.

John Whitbred, yoman of the chambre.

Nicolas Foskew.

Robert Lymdyn.

Roger Shelton.

John Hunte.

Richard Fuller.

Stephen Fox.

Thomas Fysshier.

Gauwen Longeastre.
 George Hudson, fotman.
 Owen Eton, yoman of the chambre.

Yomen in all offices of thoushold.

Maried.

Hew Johns, yoman of the wardrope of robes, and bailie of Lamemarshe and Colnewake, and keper of a wodd called Lamemarsch park, with a fee of vj d. by the daye, and bailie of Thorpwatterfelde, otherwaies called Achurche, and Rudlington, with the fee of iiij d. per diem.

Richard Maye, yoman of the horses, and the reversion of the bailiwiki of Fremyngton, with the fee of iiij d. per diem.

Peter Steppey, yoman of the wardrope of beddes.

John Smyth, yoman ussher of the haulte.

Benet Russley, yoman almoner.

William Barrett, yoman of the sellour.

William Barker, yoman porter.

John Langton, cheffe coke.

John Armstrong, yoman of the larder.

Robert Fox, yoman slaughterman.

Arnolde Stowte, yoman brewer.

Not maried.

William Haulte, yoman of the pauntre.

Cutbart Mylner, yoman of the sellour.

John Lee, yoman of the buttre.

William Lambert, yoman of the ewrie.

William Jenke, yoman of the squyllerie.

John Davy, yoman of the bakehouse.

George Walles, the faconer.

George Wattson, yoman porter.

Gromes in alle offices of thoushold.

Maried.

Water Abre, grome of the chambre.

John Scoller, grome ussher in the haulte, and bailif of Leidnam, with the fee of xxvj s. viij d. per annum.

James Blyssyd, yoman of the ewrie.

John Rolyndon, yoman of the larderr.

Richard Flower, catour.

Phelipe Stockedalle, grome of the stable.

Not maried.

Henry Wheller, bailie of Torryngton, with the fee of iiij d. by the day, Robert Maddockes, gromes of my lordes bed-chamber.

Hewe Pye, grome of the chambre.

Richard Felippes, barbour.

Thomas Cliff, grome of the wardrope of beddes.

Raundalle Burrowes, grome of the pantre, and bailie of Orwill, with the fee of xlvj s. viij d. per ann.

William Cockes, grome of the buttre.

Nicolas Carrow, } gromes of the
 George Webster, } kechyn.
 Sander Watson, }

John Day, grome of the slaughterhouse.

Christopher Metcalfe, grome of the bakehouse.

George Colins, ryder of the great horses.

Henry Fyneche, } gromes of the
 Richard Gray, } stable.
 William Harryson, }
 John Duffelde, }
 Petty John, }

William Poynte, ferer.

Roger Cobb, keper of my lordes grewhoundes.

Somme totale of all persones aforesaid iiij^{xx}xiiij, Whereof

Gentilmen	xxij
Clarkes of thousholde	iiij
Yomen of the chambre and in all offices of thousholde	xliij
Gromes as welles of the chambre as of thoushold	xxvj

[MSS. in the Rolls House, First Series, No. 216.]

Indorsed, To know what the King will doe with the Duke of Richemondes servantes.

Fyrst, to knowe how longe my lordes house shalle remane to gether, and what order shalbe takyne with all his servauntes at their departure.

Item, to knowe what lyveres of blake clothe shalbe gevyen to the hedde officers, counsaillors, and servantes.

Item, to knowe whether the kinges highnes will take a sertyne of my lordes servauntes, suche as be veiwly men, and men of good honesty, to his garde.

Item, to knowe the kinges gracious pleasure what George Cotton laite governour to the said duke, and Richard Cotton late comptroller of the said howse, shall do, whether his grace will take them to his service or other wyse bestowed at his pleasure.

Item, to knowe howe gracious lorde he wilbe unto the said George and Richard, and alle other his servauntes, for suche offices as the said duke their Mr. heithe given them, that is to say,

To the said George Cotton the Baylif of Boston, with the house, ix li. per annum. The bailyf of Martocke, xls. per annum. The bailyf of Samforde Petherille, xls. The Stewarde and Reeceyour of the Holte and Chirk, per annum xlvij li. xij s. iiij d. The keping of Merslay park iiij li. per annum. Annuytte of xx li. per annum, that Rochester laite gentilman yssher hadd for terme of his lyfe.

Summa totalis lxiiij li. xij s. iiij d.

Whereof given to deputies therof, xx li.

And so remanythe elere to the said George, xliij li. xij s. iiij d.

Item, to Richard Cotton, Steuarde, bailyf, keper, and Mr of the game of Bedhampton, with the ferme, paying the rentes therfore, per ann. x li. xij s. iiij d. And the baylif and keper of the parke of Bovitraei per annum vj li.

Summa totalis xvj li. xij s. iiij d.

Whereof gevyen to deputies thereof, vij s.

And so remanythe elere to the said Richard, ix li. xij s. iiij d.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE
DUKE OF RICHMOND, &c.

LETTERS PATENT FOR THE EARLDOM OF NOTTINGHAM.

[Rot. Pat. 27 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.]

Rex omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, prepositis, ballivis, ministris, ac omnibus aliis fidelibus suis ad quos præsentés literæ pervenerint, salutem. Cum nichil sit in principe dignius quam eam ubique virtutis rationem habere, ut quanto suorum quisque subditorum ad virtutem fuerit propensior tanto cumulacius honoribus decoretur, ac maxime ubi præclara virtutis indoles sanguine conjunctos insigniverit, sitque inter intime dilectos nostros Henricus FitzRoy prænobilis ordinis nostri Garterii miles, de nostro stemmate ortus, quem ut natura nobis arctissime copulavit ita ejusdem præclarissima indoles conciliavit reddiditque carum; regii muneris esse censemus ut sanguinem nostrum tam claro virtutum specimine ornatum agnoscentes insignibus dignitatum et honorum titulis illustremus. Ideirco nos, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, ipsum Henricum FitzRoy in comitem Notyngham ereximus præfecimus et creavimus ac per præsentés erigimus præfecimus et creamus; necnon eidem Henrico statum stilum titulum honorem et dignitatem comitis Notyngham, cum omnibus et singulis præeminenciis honoribus ceterisque hujusmodi quibuscumque statui comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus, damus et concedimus per præsentés, ipsumque Henricum FitzRoy in hujusmodi statu stilo titulo honore et dignitate per cincturam gladii insignimus investimus et realiter nobilitamus, Habendum et tenendum nomen statum stilum titulum honorem et dignitatem comitis Notyngham prædictum cum omnibus et singulis præeminenciis honoribus ceterisque quibuscumque hujusmodi statui comitis pertinentiis sive spectantibus præfato Henrico FitzRoy et heredibus masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum. Et quia crescente status celsitudine ex consequenti necessario crescent sumptus et onera grandiora, et ut idem Henricus FitzRoy melius decencius et honoriffi-

cencius statum prædicti comitis Notyngham ac onera ipsius Henrici incumbencia manutene re et sustentare valeat et possit, de uberiori gratia nostra dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris præfato Henrico et heredibus suis prædictis viginti libras sterlingorum habendum et percipiendum annuatim sibi et heredibus suis prædictis imperpetuum de exitibus et proficuis revencionibus firmis et finibus comitatum nostrorum Notynghamiae et Derbyæ per manus vicecomitum eorundem comitatum et eorum utriusque pro tempore existentium ad festa Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales porciones. (Then follow the same witnesses as in the succeeding patent.)

LETTERS PATENT FOR THE DUKEDOM OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET.

[Rot. Pat. 27 Hen. VIII. p. 1, m. 1.]

Rex omnibus et singulis archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, prepositis, ballivis, ministris, et omnibus aliis fidelibus suis ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint salutem. Cum optimi cujuscunque principis illud inter cætera proprium peculiareque munus censeatur, subditum quemque suum in quo ulla virtutis spes significatioque fulserit dignitate ac honoribus illustrare, eos imprimis ad splendoris dignitatisque fastigia provehere decet, quorum insigni præstantique virtutum indoli proprio proxima quoque sanguinis accesserit conjunctio. Unde fit ut nullo pacto prætermittere possumus quominus tam præclaram ad virtutem propensionem (quæ in nobili ac plurimum nobis dilecto Henrico FitzRoy prænobilis ordinis nostri Garterii milite, comite Notynghamiae, regia nostra prosapia genito, omni ex parte apprime digna relucet,) meritis honoribus decoremus ac præclaris titulis pretiosisque insigniis exornemus. Ad quod licet innatus et ingens noster in eum affectus urgensque naturæ impulsus queat nos satis incitare, undique tamen in tenera adhuc ætate prominenti ac in nostro præsertim sanguine virtutum omnium compositissimi optimique ingenii ac illustrissimi animi fulgentissimo specimine quam maxime judicium haud dubie fore confidentes, ut huic nostro judicio et de se conceptæ opinioni rebus ipsis accidentibus annis indies ille uberius respondeat de suisque virtutibus exhibita spei nostro cum desiderio quandoque præstet cumulatus. Proinde nos de gratia nostra speciali ac ex

certa scientia et mero motu nostris dictum præcharissimum nostrum Henricum FitzRoy comitem Nottinghamiæ in ducem Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ erigimus creamus insignimus præficimus et ordinamus, necnon nomen titulum statum stilum honorem authoritatem et dignitatem ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ eidem Henrico damus et concedimus per præsentis, ac eum de nomine ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ cum titulo statu stilo honore authoritate et dignitate ceterisque honoribus eidem appendatis et annexis per gladii cincturam, capæ et circuli aurei impositionem in capite, et traditionem virgæ aureæ realiter investimus. Habendum et tenendum nomen ac statum titulum stilum honorem authoritatem et dignitatem ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ præfato Henrico et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus inperpetuum. Et ut idem Henricus juxta dictum nomen ducis Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ decentiam et status sui nobilitatem possit honorificentius se habere, dedimus et concessimus et hac præsentis carta nostra damus concedimus et confirmamus pro nobis et heredibus nostris præfato duci Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ et heredibus suis prædictis quadraginta libras annuas percipiendas annuatim sibi et heredibus suis prædictis de exitibus proficuis et revencionibus comitatum nostrorum Eboraci Somersetiæ et Dorsetiæ provenientes, per manus vicecomitum eorundem comitatum pro tempore existentium, ad terminos Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales portiones. Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de certitudine præmissorum sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos eidem Henrico ante hæc tempora factis in præsentibus minime existit, aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione sive restrictione inde in contrarium habitis factis ordinatis sive provis, aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliqua non obstante. Hiis testibus, reverendissimis in Christo patribus Thoma sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ tituli Sanctæ Cecilæ presbitero cardinale Eboraci, Angliæ primate et Apostolicæ sedis etiam a latere legato, cancellario Angliæ, et Willielmo Cantuariense totius Angliæ primate et Apostolicæ sedis legato archiepiscopis, Thoma Norfolciæ thesaurario Angliæ et Carolo Suffolciæ marescallo Angliæ ducibus, Carolo Wigornensi camerario nostro et Georgio Salopiciensi senescallo hospitii nostri comitibus, Thoma West de la Warre milite et Willielmo Sands de Vine milite baronibus, Thoma Boleyn thesaurario hospitii nostri et Henrico Guldeford contrarotulatore ejusdem hospitii

nostri militibus. Datum per manum nostram apud Palatium nostrum de Bridewell, xvij^o die Junii, anno regni sui xvij^o.

PATENT GRANTING THE DUKE OF RICHMOND PRECEDENCE BEFORE ALL OTHER DUKES, EXCEPT THE LEGITIMATE SONS OF THE KING AND HIS HEIRS.

[This patent was not entered on the rolls. It is here printed from a manuscript copy in the Rolls House, No. 204.]

After reciting the patent of the dukedom (of which a copy occurs in the same collection, No. 136,) it thus proceeds:—

“Nos proximitatem sanguinis quam idem præcharissimus in nos attingat inter alia specialiter ponderantes, et ne ipse et heredes sui prædicti de sede prærogativa et præminentia quibus ipsi ratione et prætextu dicti status ducatus Richmondiæ et Somersetiæ uti et gaudere debent in futurum ex nunc aliquantulum perturbentur inpetrantur molestentur impediuntur seu aliquid prægraventur, ex certa scientia nostra ac advisamento et consensu procerum nobilium et consiliariorum nostrorum concedimus eidem præcharissimo nostro et heredibus suis prædictis quod idem præcharissimus et heredes sui in quibuscumque parliamentis heredum et successorum nostrorum ac consiliis regiis et aliis locis quibuscumque, tam in præsentia nostra heredum et successorum nostrorum quam aliter, habeant sedem prærogativam et præminentiam stando sedendo ac alias res quascumque hujusmodi sedem prærogativam et præminentiam concernentes exercendo sive exequendo, et stent et sedeant in omni hujusmodi parlamento consilio et aliis locis ante et præ quibuscumque personis et quocumque persona in statu ducis in regnis nostris Angliæ et Franciæ seu in eorum altero, ac in duces vel duces eorumdem regnorum seu eorum alterius præantea erectis ordinatis sive creatis et eorum heredibus, ac quibuscumque aliis in posterum ordinandis erigendis creandis seu præficiendis et eorum heredibus, personis de corpore nostro seu heredum vel successorum nostrorum duntaxat exceptis,” &c. &c.

PROGRAMME FOR THE CREATION OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, THE EARLS OF RUTLAND AND CUMBERLAND, AND THE VISCOUNTS FITZWALTER AND ROCHFORD, AT THE PALACE OF BRIDEWELL, ON SUNDAY THE 18TH OF JUNE, 1525.

[From the MS. in Coll. Arm. 2d M. 16, f. lxviii. and an imperfect Copy in Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 6113, f. 65.]

Thordere of the Creacione of the lorde Henry FitzRoy to be creatid Erle of Nottyngham.

Furst, upone Sondaye in the mornynge, by ix of the clock, the seid lord to be conveied from his lodginge by his owne servauntes and such other as it schalle please the kynges highnes to apoynt, to Brydewell, and there to be broughte into his chambre in the newe gally, where his roobes schal be put uppon. And alle the lordes, as well thoes which schalle be created, as others that schalbe appointed to geve attendaunce uppon them, to be in the seid gally in lyke wyse. And there to put uppon theire robes. And then the seide lorde to be led fourth of his seid chambre by twene ij erles, that is to say the erle of Arundelle and therle of Oxford, therle of Northumbreland to bare his sward, sir Thomas Garter principalle kynge of armes to bare his patent afore hym, and present the same to the kynge. And it to be reade by suche as schalle please his grace to appoynt. And at the wordes of *cincturam gladii* the kynge to putt the seid sward above in bende manner, that is to say, on his right scholder and under his lyfte arme. And, that done, the seid erle was by the seid erles of Arundelle and Oxford conveied unto his said chambre.

For the Creacion of the seid Erle of Nottingham to be created Duke of Rychemount.

The seid erle conveied as is aforeseid unto his seide chambre, there to be receeved betwyne the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and so eftesones betwene them to be conveied unto the kynges presence. The marques of Dorsett to bare the sward, the pomelle upwards; therle of Arundell to bare the cappe with the coronalle; the erle of Oxenforde to bare the verge of goold; therle of Northumberland to bere the mantelle; and sir Thomas Garter to beare the patent. And it to be delyvered and redde as is aforeseid

in the first creation. And at thees wordes, *investimus*, the kynge to put uppon his mantill, at *gladii cincturam* the seid sword to be by the kynge put about his necke, at *cappe* [*et*] *circuli impositionem in capite* the kynge to put the seid coronalle upon his hed, at *tradicionem virge auree* the kynge to delyver hym the golden rodde in his right honde. And the seid patent fully read, the kynges grace to delyvyr unto hym the same in his right honde. And then he to hold the said rodde in his left hande, and the said patent in his right hande; and alle thees serymonies done, the said duke to stand by, accordyng to his estate, unto such tyme as the residew after wryten were creatid.

For the Creacion of the Marquies of Exeter.

Furst to convey hym to the kynges presense	{	the duke of Suffolk
		the erle of Northumberland
Item to beare his sword		the erle of Oxforde
Item to beare his circulet		the erle of Westmerlande

For the Creacion of therle of Lincolne.

Item to beare hym		Sr John Vere
Item to lede hym	{	Therle of Arundelle
		Therle of Oxforde
Item to beare his sword		Therle of Northumberland

For the Creacion of therle of Rutland.

Item to lede him	{	Therle of Arundelle
		Therle of Oxford
Item to beare his sword		Therle of Westmerland

For therle of Cumberland.

Item to lede hym	{	Therle of Oxenford
		Therle of Northumberland
Item to beare his sword		Therle of Shrouesbury

For the Viscont FitzWalter.

Item to lede hym	{	Therle of Shreusbury
		The lord of Burgaveny
Item to beare his mantille		The lord Dacre

For the Viscont Rochford.

Item to lede hym	}	Therle of Westmerland
		The lord Ferres
Item to beyr his mantell		The lorde Hastynges

M^d. All their patentcs presented to the kinges personne by sir Thomas Wriothesley, Gartier principalle Kyng of Armes.

ORDER OF THE CREATION OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, &c.

[MS. Cotton. Tiberius E. viii.]

The orther of the creacion of the lord Henry FitzRoy to be created erle of Notyngam.

M^d the yere of our Lord a M.v^c.xxvth, the xvij yer of oure soveran lord King Henry the viijth, on Sonday the xvij day of June, at the kinges palace in Londoun named Brydewelle, was created the lord Henry FitzRoy erle of Nottynam and duc of Rychmound, with other dyvers lordys in seche maner as hereafter folowthe.

It the Sounday the xvij day of June the lord Henry FitzRoy cam frome Dorames place, wher at he keppe hys howswolde, to the kinges palace caled Brydewelle att ix of the klok, or ther apone, in companie with onerabyll knyghtes, sqwyars, and gentyllmen to a great noumbre, and entryng in to the sayd palace, passing thorow the grett chamber, and so entryng in to the chamber of estat wher as was at thende of the sayd chamber a goodly gallyry, called the nu gallery, wher in the sayd lord Henry FitzRoy rested in a chamber by hyme selffe, and ther was put on hym hys robes that partened the stat of an erlle, and all the other lordes having on ther robys ther gave on hyme ther attendance, and so ther taryng [un to] seche tyme that word came from the kyng that hys grace was redy to [give?] them ther creacion.

The ordere of the chamber afor the entryng of the sayd lordes.

The sayd chamber was hangde with ryche arys the [which] was

worthet* with golde and sylke, and so was all the as and galares in a lyke maner, for so ryche ares hathe beyn seldum seyn, the wych wh[as †] danyache and of the destrochon of Troy, and at the upper ynde of the sayd chamber ha[ng a cloth] of astat of ryche clothe a golde of tyssu, and under the sayd clothe of astat whas a [chare of] clothe a golde of tyssen, and the pomelles of the sayd chare gylttyd with fyne gold.

[By t]he sayd chare under the clothe of astat stood the kynges grace, and on hys ryghte hande [within the] compasse a sertyn space of the clothe of astat stood the lorde lagatt, ‡ and be syde hym [the beschop of] Carlell, § the beschop of Sentas, || the beschop of (*blank*), the abott of Westmynster, ¶ wy[th dyver]s other abottes and prelettes of the cherche, and on the lefte hand on the kynges [dyvers] temporall lordys, that ys to say, Thomas duc of Norfolk tresserer and he stuard, and Charllys duc of Suffolk marcyall of Yngland, Gorge erlle of Schorysbere s[tuard of the k]ynges noble hoswold, therle of Arendell, therle of Oxinford chamberlen of Yngland, [therle of Nort]he thomberland, therlle of Westmerland, the lord Fitz-Water, the lord Sandys, the l Haward, with dyvers lordys, knyghtes, and squiars to a gret noumbre.

[At the] commandement of the vezchamberlayn jentylmen oschers mayd all the pepull to stand a both [sides the cha]mber, so that ther whas frome the loware end of the chamber derecly upp to the [upper end] wher as the kyng grace stood a space mayd that iiij men myght go arme in arme [in o]rder by the jentylmen oschers. Also the trompettes wher apoynted to stande in the wyndow, the whych whas ryght agen the clothe of astate ther as the kyng [stood, and t]her to blow as they where comandyd at seche tymes as whas convenyant.

Item the chamber thus putt in good sorte and good order, then whas trompettes comandyd to blow and ch down. Then came the lorde Henry FitzRoy frome his chamber, havynge on hyme hys robys parteynynge to the statte of an erlle, leyd betwen ij erlles, that ys to say therlle of Arundell and therlle of Oxinford, they havynge on them ther robys, therlle of Arundell on the ryght hande and therlle of Oxinford on the lefft haude, and therlle of Nortthe thomberland in hys robes beryng the sayd erlles swerd befor hyme, sir Thomas Garter kyng at armes, beryng the sayd

* *i. e.* worked. † The MS. has been injured by the Cottonian fire. ‡ Wolsey.

§ John Kite.

|| Henry Standish.

¶ William Benson or Boston.

erlles patent, with Clarenceux kyng at armes, Noray king at armes, Somerset, Carlell, Langlester, Montorgell, Wynsore herroldes at armes, all thes wheryng on them the kynges cotte of armes, sayyng Somerset at that tyme ware on him the sayd erlles cott at armes, that ys to say, the cotte of armes of the lord Henry FitzRoy.*

Item in thys order and maner the lorde Henry FitzRoy whas broght forthe of the sayd galary in to the kynges chamber, wher as hys grace whas standyng under hys clothe of astat in [order] as ys a booff wryten, and so the sayd lordys aprochyng to the kynges presance with seche onarable revarance as parteynythe to sech a kynges astatt; and when they come neyr to hys [grace] the sayd lordys knelyd down to the ground, and so ros up agen, the sayd lord Henry then standing styll be twen the sayd ij erlles that layd him. Then Garter kyng at armes presentyd his patent to the kynges grace, the wyche my lorde cardenall resavyd, delyveryng hyt to master Mowre, the wyche red the sayd patent on hyght, ressytyng therin all the tytyll and o[nours the] kyng hade gyve to hym tochyng the state† of an erlle, and when he red un to thes wordys *per cincturam gladii*, then therlle of Northe thomberland presantyd the sward un to the kynges grace, and so hys grace towk the sward and putt it a bowt the lord Henry's neck in bend maner, that ys to say, over hys ryght scholder and under hys lefte arm. Then the kyng delyvered to hym hys patent in hys ryght hand, and all thes sarmon[es ‡ ended, there] blu the trompettes. And so departed the said erlle owt of the kynges presance [conveyed] in all sech lyk maner and forme as he whas broght to the kynges presance [before] he was creatyd erlle.

The order and maner of the creacion of therll of Nottyingam to be created due of Richmond and due of Somersett.

Item when the sayd erlle whas conveyd to hys chamber as ys above wretyn [in such] a parell as he whas creatyd in erlle, and then whas broght to hym the robes pertaining] to the state of a due, of the wyche robes he ded on hys syreot, and then th[er came to] hym the due of Norfolk, tresarar of Yngland, and the due of Suffolk, marsch[all of

* Because he was created duke of Somerset. See hereafter, p. lxxxvii.

† *M.S.* stat.

‡ ceremonies.

Yngland], they ledyng hyme be twen them, the duc of Norfolk on the ryght hand and the [duc of Suffolk on] the left hand, the marquis Dorsett beryng hys swarde the pomyll upward , and then by for the sward therlle of Arundell beryng the cappe with the cron[alle, therlle of] Oxinford bare the verge of golde, thes to erllys goyng juntely * to gedyr, save that therlle of Arundell whent on the ryght hand on the verge of golde, and be for them the [earl of Northumbreland] bare the mantell, and then Garter king at armes bare the patent, then w[ent Clarenceux king] at armes, Noray king at armes, Somersett, Carlell, Langeaster, Wynsor haroldes, [every of] thes offyceers of armes wheryng on them the kynges cott of armes, so in th[is order] and maner passyng forthe of the sayd galyre to the kinges chamber, where as hys grace was standyng under a cloth of astate encompanet with the perys of hys reallme speretuell and temporall as for ys wryten, and when they wher in hys presanee they dooyng seche onarabyll reverance as parteynethe to the state of seche a king, and so when they come neyr to hys presanee the knelyd to the gronde, and so ryssyng upp a gayne. And so the said erle standyng styll between they ij ducs that layd hyme, then Garter king at armes, presentyng the patent un to the kinges grace, the wych patent resavyd my lord cardenall, and so delyvered to mayster Moure, the whych red the sayd patent on heght, declaryng all the tytelles and oners that the kinges grace hathe gyven† to hyme tochyng the state of a duc, and when he red this word *investimus* then therlle of Northomberland presantyd hys mantell to the kinges grace, and the king dyd putt the mantell on hyme, and at thys word *gladiū cincturam* my lord marquis presantet the sward to the king, and hys grace putt hyt about the sayd lordes nek, and so h[ong it] afor hym, and when he red thes words, *cappe et circuli impositionem capite*, then therle of Arundell presantet the cappe wythe the cronalle to the king, then hys grace took hyt and [put] hyt on hys hed, and at thys worde, *traditionem virge auree*, then therle of Oxinford presantet the sayd golden rode to the king.

It' then the king delyvered the sayd rode of gold in hys right hand, and then when the patent whas fulle red my lorde cardenall toke the patant and delyverd hyt to the kynges grace, and then the king delyverd the sayd

* i. e. jointly.

† MS. gyng.

patant to hyme in hys ryght hand, and then he toke the rode of gold and held hett in hys left hand, and thus he was created due. And all thes sar[monics* ended, the] sayd due stood a syde in the kynges presence, a buff all the oder perys of the realm [according to] hys astate, to all the oder lordys wer create as her after folothe.

It' for the creaeyon of the marquis of Excester, the wych was therle of Denvynscher.

[Within the †] galary a boof wretyn the lorde William erle of Denvynscher hayd broght to [him the robes fo]r the state of a marquis, and ther wher putte on hyme; and that down ther w[ent unto h]yme the due of Suffolk and therle of Northomberland, the wych conveyed h[ym forward] to the kynges presence; therle of Oxinford bare his sward, therlle of Westmerl[and bare the] cappe wyth the syrklett, sir Thomas Garter king at armes bare hys patant, [with the other] kinges and harolds, convayng hyme to the kynges presence in lyk order as is a b[ove said; and w]hen they come to the kynges presaunce ther doying ther duti as parteynet to hys a[state, then G]arter king at armes presentyng hys patent to the kynges grace, the wych my l[orde cardin]all resavyd, delyveryng hyt to maister Mowre, he redyng the sayd pattant on h[igh, recitin]g all seche tytells and oners as the kyng had onored hyme withall, and when [he came to the wo]rde at *gladii cincturam*, therle of Oxinford presantyd the sward to the k[ying, and the kyn]g takyng the sayd sward and put hyt abutt the sayd erlys nek, the wych [hung th]er of bend wyse, and when he red at *cappe et circuli impositionem capite*, therlle of Westmerland presantyd the cape and syreulet to the kyng, the wych the kyng [plac]ed on the sayd erlle, and then when hys pattent was full red hys [grace gave] the sayd pattent in to hys ryght hand, and so was he created ma[rquis].

The creacion of therlle of Lingeolne, sone and eyr of Charlys due of Suffolk, and Marschall of Yngland.

Item Henry, son and eyr to the due of Suffolk, was broght in to the

* ceremonies.

† The lower part of the leaf is much injured by fire, and renders many conjectural words necessary to complete the sense.

galary abouff w[ritten,] and ther he was vested with seche robes as partanythe to the state of an erle. When he had on hym hys robys then come to hym therle of Arundell and therle of Oxynford to leyd hym to the kynges presance, but by cauce he was so yone* ther was a knight a poynted, called sir John Ve[re], the wyche bare hym in hys armes betwen the sayd ij erles to the kinges presance; therlle of Northomberland bare hys sward, Garter king at armes bare hys patent, Clarenceux kyng at armes, Noray king at armes, Carlell, Langcaster, Wynsore haroldes of armes, goyng afor them; then blu up the trompettes, and so in thys order and maner they broght hym to the kinges presance, ther doying ther du reverance to the kynges estat; and when they wher neyr the kinges presance, then the sayd yong lorde whas sett down, and stode betwen therle of Arundell and therll of Oxynford, and then Garter king at armes presented his patant to the kinges grace, the wych my lorde cardenall resavyd, delyveryng hyt to maistre [More], the wych rede the sayd patant on heght, resyting ther in seche tytilles and oners as the king onered hym wyth all, and when that he red thys wordes *cincturam gladii*, then therlle of Northomberland presentyd the sward to the king, then the king grace putt hyt aboutt the yonge lordes nek in the maner of bend, that ys to say ovar hys ryght scholder, [and to h]yng down ovar hys lefte arme, and then hys patent fully red, the king delivered h[yt in to] the sayd yonge lorde in hys ryght hand, and so the sayd yong lorde whas created erle.

The creacion of the lorde Ros to be Erle of Rutland.

After the creacion of therlle of Lyngcoln, then blue the trompettes, and so [came fort]he the lord Ros layd betwen therll of Arundell and therlle of Oxynford, [and the earl of Westmerland b]are hys sward, and so forth in al oder sarmones † and order ‡ as ys a bove [rehearsed, he was created to the] state of an erlle; and thys creacion so down, then blu the trompettes.

The creacion of the lord Cleford to be creatyd Erlle of Combarland.

Item then was broght forth of the sayd galary the lord Cleford, lede betwen [the earl of Oxford] and therlle of Northomberland, and therle of

* young.

† ceremonies.

‡ M.S. oder.

Schorysbery bare the sward, and [Garter king at arms] the patent, and in all oder sarmones* and order as whas eusyd and do[un as above] wretyn, he was creatyd Erle of Comberland.

The order of the creacion of the lord FitzWater to be created Vycount.

(*Cetera desunt.*)

FEES PAID FOR THE DUKE'S CREATION AND INSTALLATION.

[Wolsey MSS. from the Chapter House, Westminster, now at the Rolls House, No. 231.]

Charges for the creacion off the ryght highe and myghty prince the duke of Richemount and Somerset, erle of Notyngham:—

In primis, off the kynges larges v li.

Item ffor his creacion of Erl, to the office of Armys in generall x li.

Item ffor his creacion of Erl, to sir Thomas gartier principall kyng of Armys, hys apparell.

Item ffor his creacion of duke, to the hoolle office off Armys as well ffor his sayd creacion as for the publication off his style (*blank*)

M^d a Duke of the blod Royall pays xx li.

And every other Duke xx. mares.

Item ffor the seyde sir Thomas gartier hys apparell.

Item ffor a rewarde to all such officers as gave hym attendaunce at hys dyner, as jentylmen ushers and othyr.

Item ffor a rewarde to alle the trumpettes.

Charges appertayning to the seyde prince
ffor his Installacion at Wyndsour:—

In primis to the Channons off the College for setting up hys baner, helm, and crest, &c. x li.

Item to syr Thomas gartier principall kyng of Arms and kyng of Armes of Thordre, the gowne that he enterythe in to the Chapter house.

Item to the vicars off the vicars of college xxvj s. viij d.

Item to the Register ij. olde nobylles.

Item to the office of Armys xlv s.

Item to the sexten vj s. viij d.

Item to the queresters xiiij s. iiij d.

* ceremonies.

Item upon a comon pursse all such officers off the kynges as gyve their attendaunce to be rewardid so that for the sayd lordes part wyll not amount past xlv s.

HERALDS AND PURSUIVANTS OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET, AND
EARL OF NOTTINGHAM.

It has been mentioned in the preceeding ceremonial of the creation of the duke, that on that occasion the heralds all wore the king's coat of arms as usual, excepting Somerset, who wore the coat of arms of the lord Henry FitzRoy, to whom the title of duke of Somerset was about to be given.

It was usual for the great nobility to have officers of arms in their households. It appears that the duke had both a herald and a pursuivant assigned to his service; and from the valuable collections made by Anstis for the history of the heralds, and now preserved in the College of Arms, we are enabled to gather the following notices respecting these officers:—

John Pound was already Somerset herald, and Richard de la Towre was appointed Nottingham pursuivant on the 5th July, 1525, with a yearly fee of 10*l*. On his death the same office was granted on the 29th April, 1526, to William Hasyng* alias Rougedragon. In 1528, Hasyng succeeded Pound as Somerset; and Richard Croke became the pursuivant, for whom, by warrant dated at Greenwich, 17 May, 1528, the wardrobe provided a coat of the arms of his master painted on sarcenet.

“Per warrantum datum apud Greenwich 17 Maii, anno xx^o Hen. 8, pro Richardo Crokis etiam Notingham pursevante ad arma,—Johanni Browne pictori domini Regis pro una tunica de armis de sarsanet de *Arma Ducis de Richemount et Somerset* pretii x*l*s.”

After Croke's death Thomas Treheron, or Trehearne, had the office of Nottingham pursuivant by a patent dated 30 April, 22 Hen. VIII. (1530); and he was likewise advanced to be Somerset herald by patent dated Oct.

* This William Hasyng had been formerly Buckingham herald in the service of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, before that nobleman's fall in 1521. His petition for the office of Rougedragon is preserved among the MSS in the Rolls House, No. 1039.

3, 24 Hen. VIII. (1532). He is in the heralds' Partition-book expressly called Somerset herald to the duke of Richmond: but, surviving the duke, he retained his office under the crown. The office of Nottingham pursuivant was on the 3d Oct. 24 Hen. VIII. (1532) conferred on John Davy; on whose death in 1537 this office ceased. (Anstis's MS. collections for the history and biography of the heralds, in the College of Arms, vol. ii. p. 593, and vol. iii. pp. 225, 279.)

THE HERALDIC INSIGNIA OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

The Coat of Arms assigned to Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond and Somerset and earl of Nottingham, was blazoned thus: France and England quarterly, debruised by a baton sinister argent, within a bordure also quarterly, first of ermine, secondly and thirdly compoony or and azure, and fourthly gobony argent and azure; an inescutcheon of pretence quarterly gules and vairé or and vert, charged with a lion rampant argent, on a chief azure a castle between two buck's heads caboshed argent.

His crest, on a cap of dignity gules, turned ermine, a lion guardant argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or. (Coll. Arms, E. 14, p. 110, and MS. Harl. 1447, f. 50 b.)

Supporters, Dexter, a lion argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or; Sinister, a yale* argent bezantée, accorned, hoofed, gorged with a coronal and chained or. "A whyt lyon regardant† w^t the coronalle and cheyne perteyneth to the duc of Rychemont." (See the etching which faces the title-page.) MS. I. 2, in College of Arms, fol. 5; on the reverse of which leaf is depicted a corresponding banner held by the "yale," on which the duke's arms are impaled with those of his wife,—quarterly of four, Howard, Brotherton, Warren, and Mowbray, with this superscription, "Yale pertayneth to the duke of Somerset." (Prince Arthur's Book, Vincent 152, and Standards I. 2, both in the College of Arms.)

Standard, the field "silvre and blw and gold of iii. pesys:" the principal

* I am not aware that this animal is elsewhere known either in natural or heraldic zoology. Sandford, in his Genealogical History, when describing the armorial insignia of the duke of Richmond, terms the beast an antelope; but it differs from the heraldic antelope (in the drawings above mentioned) in having horns like those of a ram, and a tail like a dog's.

† This term is simply equivalent to the present "guardant."

device a lion passant guardant gules, gorged with a coronal and chained or; the badge, a open rose per fess gules and argent, seeded and slipped proper; from the centre of which is issuant a demi-lion argent, gorged with a coronal and chained or.* (See this figured in the etching.) The motto *Debboir me obliger.* *The duc of rychemon and somerset.* (I. 2, fol. 3 verso.)

The composition of the arms may be traced as follows:—1. His father's coat of France and England, with the baton to denote his illegitimacy; 2. The bordures of the first three quarters for the title of Richmond, the coat of Alan Fergaunt, first earl of Richmond, having been, Cheeky or and azure, a canton ermine; 3. The gobony bordure as borne by Beaufort duke of Somerset; 4. The inescutcheon for the earldom of Nottingham, the ancient coat of Peverel lord of Nottingham having been, Vairé or and vert, and that of Mowbray earl of Nottingham, Gules, a lion rampant argent; 5. The chief appears to have been intended to denote the two counties of Nottingham and Derby, from which a pension was assigned for the maintenance of the earldom, the former being represented by the castle of Nottingham, and Derby by the heads of stags or *deer*.

A well-executed and contemporary piece of stained glass of the arms of Henry FitzRoy, duke of Richmond, within a garter, is now or was recently preserved in the rectory-house at Harlington, in Middlesex. From whence it came is not known.

A drawing of his stall-plate at Windsor (now no longer existing) occurs in MS. Vincent 152, f. 159, with the following memorandum:—

“A° M°ccccxxv. the xxvth. day of June the xvij. yere of the reigne of king Henry the viij. the duk of Richemount and Somersett erle of Notyngham, &c. was installed at the feast of Seynt George att Wyndesore. His gown, black satin with botons and agettes of gold, on his sleeves furred with sables.”

This last line alludes to Garter's perquisite of the gown, taken off previously to the new knight's investiture (as mentioned in the table of fees in p lxxxvi. *ante*.)

* The cognisance of queen Katharine Parre was designed in the same spirit,—a maid's head, already the badge of her family, was placed as issuant from a red and white rose.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page xi. *The lady Tailboys.* After the death of lord Tailboys his widow was courted by the lord Leonard Grey, brother to the marquess of Dorset (and afterwards lord deputy in Ireland), as we learn from two of his lordship's letters to secretary Cromwell, which are preserved among that minister's correspondence in the State Paper Office. In the first, "Written at Kayme, my lady Taylbusshe house, the xxiiij daye of Maye, at xij of the clocke at noone," he describes the matter to have originated as an episode in a hunting excursion, thus: "So it is I have been on hunting in Lyneolnshyre, and so came by my lady Taylbusche homewardes, and have had commynycacion with her in the way of mariage, and so I have had very good chere with her ladyshyp, ensuring you that I coude be better contented to marye wyth her (God and the king pleased) than with any other lady or gentlewoman lyyng. Wherefore if it wolde please you of your goodnes to move the kinges grace, and also my lord of Norfolke, in this matter, and that ye wolde gette the kinges lettres, and also my lord of Norfolkes lettre unto her in my behalf, for so my frendes hath advised and counsaylled me, and alle my hole truste, next God and the king, is in you." He proceeds to excuse himself for not sending a nag that he had promised Cromwell, and presents him instead five pounds in gold to buy one; and in conclusion sends a blank in paper, hoping that Cromwell or Antony Bridgegood would devise a letter to the duke of Norfolke in his favour.

In his second letter to the secretary, "Written at my pore house of Bewmanour, the second daye of July," lord Leonard thanks him for "the good and kinde letter ye wrote in my favour to my good lady Taylbusche, ascerteignyng you that I had rather obteyne that mater than to be made lord of asmoche goodes and landes as any one noble man hath within this realm," and proceeds at some length solliciting him in the most urgent terms to further his suit. Where the difficulty lay does not very clearly appear; but lady Tailboys had written a letter to Cromwell suggesting that for the good will he bare the lord Leonard he had undertaken to persuade her; so it would seem that the lady doubted the sincerity of lord Leonard's professions, or made that excuse for declining his offer.

Two letters of Elizabeth lady Talboys, printed in Miss Wood's Collection, vol. ii. pp. 38, 643, belong to the wife of sir George, and mother of Gilbert lord Tailboys. She was the daughter of sir William Gaseoigne, as stated in a pedigree inserted in Banks's Extinct Peerage, vol. i. facing p. 419.

Page xiii. *The Duke of Richmond's possible nomination as heir to the Crown.* Previously to Burnet, this contingency had been noticed by Fuller in his Church History. When commenting on king Henry's last will, and the remainders assigned, after his possible issue by queen Katharine Parr, to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, Dr. Fuller remarks: "Well it was for them that Henry Fitzroy his natural son,—but one of supernatural and extraordinary endowments,—was dead; otherwise, some suspect, had he lived to survive king Edward VI. we might presently have heard of a king Henry IX., so great was his father's affection, and so unlimited his power to prefer him." The duke of Richmond actually died some fifteen months before prince Edward's birth; and by the act for the succession, passed by the parliament of 1536, the king placed his daughters Mary and Elizabeth on the same level of illegitimacy as the duke of Richmond, and acquired the power to bequeath the crown at his own pleasure, in default of heirs by any future wife. At that time, therefore, men might well speculate on the duke of Richmond's chance of receiving his father's appointment, even if they had not done so before; but he had then probably fallen into his last illness.

Dr. Fuller repeats his high eulogium on the duke of Richmond's talents in his Worthies of England, under Essex, obviously following the passage in Holinshed's Chronicle, already quoted in p. xxix.

Page xxxii. *Letters of the king of Scots, queen Margaret, &c.* Since this page was printed I have ascertained that the other papers relative to the duke of Richmond's present of hounds to the king of Scotland are now preserved at the Rolls, in the volume marked B. II. 10. King James's letter to doctor Magnus, dated "at our pallice besydes Halyrud house ye viij day of Januar, 1536," asks for three or four brace of the best ratches in the country, less or more, for hares, foxes, or other greater beasts, with one brace of blood-hounds of the best kind that are good, and will ride behind men on horseback. Queen Margaret, in a letter dated Edinburgh the same day, expresses the king's request in the same words. This has been published by Miss Wood (now Mrs. Green) in her Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. ii. p. 20. A copy of the duke of Richmond's letter to king James follows. It is dated at Pontefract Castle on the 11th February. He sends "ten couple of houndes of the beste that I have proved of my owne." They were sent in the charge of Nicholas Eton, his yeoman hunt, who was to remain and tarry with the king of Scots for a month or fourteen days, to show the manner, form, and fashion of hunting with the said hounds. The duke adds that he was then "destitute of any suche lyam houndes as be good and excellent to use to ride behynde men," but proposed to procure them for the king. Lastly, the copies of Magnus's "two several letters" to the king and his mother, mentioned in p. xxxii. are also preserved.

In her vol. i. p. 363, Miss Wood has printed another letter of queen Margaret to doctor Magnus, dated Edinburgh, 25 Nov. 1525, in which she acknowledges the commendations he had sent her "from our good nephew the duke of Richmond and Somerset, whereof we in our most tender manner thanks our said cousin. We desire you (adds the queen) affectionately to have us recommended unto him, as we that shall entertain our dutiful kindness, as natural affection aright towards him, as we that is right glad of his good prosperity, praying the same to continue."

Page xxxvii. *The Breeching Bug.* The idea of intimidating a lordly pupil by the vicarious punishment of his schoolfellows, appears to have been regarded, during a considerable period of time, as a "well-devised policie." Shakspeare alludes to the distinction made between aristocratic and inferior scholars, both in the matter of punishment and in confinement to their tasks, when in his "Taming of the Shrew" he makes Bianca say—

"I am no *breeching scholar* in the schools,
I'll not be tied to hours, nor 'pointed times,
But learn my lessons as I please myself."

In the play of "When you see me you know me, or the famous Chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight," written by Samuell Rowly, played by the prince of Wales's servants, and printed in 1613, is a long scene bearing upon this subject. The personages engaged are Cranmer, in the character of prince Edward's principal tutor, doctor Christopher Tye his lecturer in music, Will Somers the court fool, and Browne one of the children of the chapel royal. The scene commences thus—

Enter Cranmer, doctor Tye, and young Browne meets them with the Prince's cloake and hat.

Cranmer. How now, young Browne, what have you there?

Browne. The prince's cloake and hat, my lord.

Cranmer. Where is his grace?

Browne. At tennis, with the marquisse Dorset.

Cranmer. You and the marquisse draw the prince's mind

To follow pleasure and neglect his booke,

For which the king blames us; but, credite me,

You shall be soundly paid immediately.

Browne. I pray ye, good my lord! He goe call the prince away.

Cranmer. Nay, now you shall not. Who's within there, ho!

Servant. My lord?

Cranmer. Goe bear this youngster to the chapel strait,

And bid the Maister of the Children whip him well.

The prince will not learn, sir, and you shall smart for it.

Browne. Oh, good my lord! He make him ply his booke to-morrow.

Cranmer. That shall not serve your turne. Away, I say!

So, sir, this policie was well devised;

Since he was whipt thus for the prince's faults,

His grace has got more knowledge in a moneth,

Than he attained in a yere before;

For still the fearfull boy, to save his breech,

Dothe hourelly haunte him wheresoere he goes.

Tye. 'Tis true, my lord, and now the prince perceives it,

As loath to see him punisht for his faultes,

Plies it on purpose to redeeme the boy, &c.

Then succeeds some fooling between Browne and Will Somers the court jester ; after which the prince and the young marquess enter with their rackets, and, on seeing Browne, the former says—

Prince. Why how now, Browne, what's the matter?

Browne. Your grace loiters, and will not ply your book, and your tutors has whipt me for it.

Prince. Alas, poore Ned, I am sorry for it. I'll take the more pains, and intreat my tutors for thee ; yet in truth the lectors they read me last night out of Virgil and Ovid I am perfect in, onelie I confesse I am something behind in my Greek authors.

Will. And for that speech they have declinde it upon his breech.

Prince. And for my logick, thou shalt witness thy selfe I am perfect ; for now will I prove that, though thou wert whipt for me, yet this whipping was good for thee.

After chopping some logic on the virtues of the rod, the prince again condoles with the boy :—

Prince. In truth, I pity thee, and inwardly I feel the stripes thou barest, and for thy sake, Ned, Ile plie my book the faster. In the meane time thou shalt not say but the Prince of Wales will honourably reward thy service. Come, Browne, kneele downe !

Will. What wilt thou knight him, Ned?

Prince. I will ; my father has knighted many a one that never shedde droppe of blood for him ; but hee has often for me.

The king then comes in, and the scene is still prolonged, during which Will Somers declares that Browne had “ been lasht for this two yeere ” for the sake of the prince's learning. His majesty confirms sir Edward Browne's knighthood, and grants him a thousand marks a year to support his new dignity.

The practice of having a Whipping Boy is said to have been maintained during the education of King Charles the First, whose substitute was one Murray ; and in France so lately as in the childhood of Louis XV., of whom Mad. du Deffand says (i. 245), “ Le roi dans son enfance avoit un petit hussar qu'on fouettait quand le roi n'avait pas bien dit sa leçon.” See Thoms's Book of the Court, 1838, p. 382.

Page l. *The Pope's niece.* On consulting the various passages referred to in the index to the State Papers, I find that it is clear that the lady termed “ the pope's niece ” was no other than Catharine de' Medici, who was married in Oct. 1533 to Henri duke of Orleans, afterwards king Henri II. The relationship was much more distant than that we usually understand by niece. The pope (Clement VII.) was Giulio de' Medici, a natural son of the cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, great-uncle of Lorenzo duke of Urbino and Florence, the father of Catharine.

Page li. *The daughter of Portugal.* The mother of this princess was not the widow of John III. of Portugal, but her sister Eleanora, the widow of his father Emanuel, who died in 1521. Mary “ the daughter of Portugal ” was born in 1522 ; and, by the treaty of Madrid, Francis I. had engaged that his son the dauphin should marry her when they should arrive at a competent age. She was afterwards proposed successively to Charles

duke of Orleans, and Philip son of the Emperor Charles V. ; but finally died unmarried in 1578. The negotiations for the duke of Richmond's alliance with her are noticed in State Papers, i. 234, 266, 268 ; ii. 266, 268 ; vi. 592, 605, 606 ; and, in addition to the passages already quoted in p. li., the following are important. From Abbeville, the last of July 1527, Wolsey tells the king that he had received letters from the English ambassadors in Spain, among the subjects of which "The fyft is, the blynde and doubtfull overture made by mons^r Buclans [secretary to the emperor] for the aliance of the duke of Richemount to the daughter of Portugale, with the gift of the duchy of Myllain, in contemplacion of the same aliance ; meanyng therby to interrupte and lette the con-juncion of your highnes with the Frenche king."

Dr. Lee (ambassador in Spain), to the king, from Valladolid, 17 July, 1527 :—"The saied mons^r Buclans told me also that he utterlie thought that your highnes should have, if it so shall please your highnes, the daughter of Portugale for the duke of Richemount ; she shall have 400,000 ducates and more, and eomnyth of the eldest daughter, which possibilite is good."

Page lix. *Teste apud Dublin*. Although the duke of Richmond never went to Ireland, it appears that certain letters patent are upon record bearing his *Teste apud Dublin*.* In the Introduction to Grants, &c. of King Edward the Fifth, p. xxix, I have made some remarks upon Sharon Turner's error in supposing that that monarch was on certain days at Westminster because some of his patents bear such date. We find in like manner some of the patents of Henry VIII. bearing *teste* at Dublin, Drogheda, and Kilkenny—probably the places at which they passed the great seal. In Ireland, this practice was apparently confined to such matters as were reserved from the authority of the king's representative, and were presumed to be executed by the king himself. From the patronage of a lieutenant of Ireland were excepted the offices of chancellor, treasurer, and chief justice of the king's bench (as appears by the patent appointing the earl of Surrey lieutenant in 1520-1) ; and from the patronage of a deputy were excepted the offices of chancellor, treasurer, chief and

* An inquisition taken at Dublin before William Forster of Kylleghe, gentleman, the king's escheator of the county of Dublin, anno 24 Hen. VIII. finds that John O'Connow, the vicar of Holywood otherwise Kyllingkyen, was an Irishman and of the Irish nation and blood, and that his benefice was worth 40*l.* a-year. He is accordingly distrained, and subsequently appearing in court by his attorney he pleads that the king by his letters patent made at Dublin on the 1st day of June, anno 22^o (1530) granted to the said John that he might be of free state and condition, and free and acquitted "ab omni jugo servitutis Hibernicalis." &c. The letters patent are then set forth *in hæc verba*, and are witnessed in this form : "Teste præcharissimo et dilectissimo consanguineo nostro Henrico duce Richmond et Somersett, de prosapia nostra orti, locumtenente nostro terre et dominiî nostri Hiberniæ, apud Dublin, primo die mensis Junij anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo." (Rot. Mem. 25 Hen. VIII. m. 13 dorso.) Other examples would probably occur on a further search.

other judges of both benches, barons of the exchequer, and master or keeper of the rolls (as appears by the patent appointing the earl of Kildare deputy in 1524).

For the facts contained in this note and that at p. lix, on the lieutenancy of Ireland, I must acknowledge my great obligations to the researches of James F. Ferguson, esq. of the Exchequer Record Office in Ireland.

It would seem, however, that the duke's presence in Ireland was contemplated as likely to be beneficial, not only by the council there (State Papers, ii. 172), but also by the native chieftains. Conohwyr Obryen the prince of Thomond, in a letter dated the 13th Oct. 1535, assured the king that "if it would please your grace to be soe good and gracious to this poore land and to us your poore subjectes as to send some noble man to govern us, and in especial if it would please your highnesse to send your sonne the duke of Richmond to this poor country, I insure your grace that I and my brother and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall doe him as lowly service and as trew as any man living, and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends shall right gladly receive him to our forster sonne after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and dye in his right and service for ever, and binde us to the same, after your pleasure known." (State Papers, ii. 288.) It may here be remarked that this rude Irish chieftain spoke more plainly than the English courtiers, not one of whom do we find describing the duke as the king's son.

Page lxi. *The duke of Richmond's sojourn in France.* An incidental illustration of this period of the duke's life occurs in the following passage of the metrical history of the Throckmortons. It commences the narrative of the career of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the celebrated statesman of the reign of Elizabeth :—

A brother fourth, and far from hope of land,
By parents' hest I served as a page
To Richmond's duke, and waited still at hand,
For fear of blows that happen'd in his rage.
In Francee with him I lived most carelessly,
And learned the tongue, though nothing readily.

In a letter of sir John Wallop to the king, dated from Melun on the 24th Dec. 1540, he describes a banquet in which he sat with mons. Dolphin and mons. d'Orleanee; when the former, after telling Wallop that he was king Henry's godson, "beganne to speke of my lord of Richemounte, lamenting his dethe grately, and so did mons. d'Orleanee likewise. They bothe then asking for my lord of Surrey, geving grate prease unto hym, as wel for his wisdom and sobrenes, as also good learning." (State Papers, viii. 560.) This is a most interesting testimony to the impression which both Richmond and Surrey had made upon the royal family of France during their sojourn at the French court.

Page lxx. *The Cottons.* In a pedigree of the ancestors of the viscount Combermere given by Mr. Ormerod in his History of Cheshire, vol. iii. p. 212, John Cotton, of Cotton, co. Salop, appears as father of William, sir George esquire of the body of Henry VIII., sir Richard, Ralph, Robert, and Thomas. There is other evidence that the governor and comptroller of the duke of Richmond, after the death of their master, were taken into the

household of his royal father. In 1531 George Coton appears as a favourite companion of the king in his exercises of archery, and as winning at three several times the sums of 46s. 8d., 3l., and 7l. 2s. all apparently at the butts or "rounds" in Tothill fields near Westminster; and again on the last day of June there was paid—

"To the iij. Cotons for iij. settes the whiche the kinges grace lost to them in Grenwiche parke xxl.

"Item to the same Coton for one up shotte that he wonne of the kinges grace vjs. viij d.

It appears from two letters of Richard Coton to the lord privy seal Cromwell, among the Cromwell Correspondence in the State Paper Office, that in 1536 he was the commander of the latter's company of soldiers, sent to repress the rebellion in Lincolnshire; and from a document at the Rolls (Wolsey Papers, First Series, No. 193) that he was promoted to the service of Edward prince of Wales, as cofferer of his household. He was knighted by king Edward at his coronation. Having held for some time the office of treasurer of Boulogne, he was one of the commissioners for the delivery of that city to the French in 1550. In 1551 he occurs as one of the council for Wales. In Aug. 1552 he was appointed comptroller of the king's household, and in virtue of that office he became a member of the privy council. In Jan. 1552-3 we find him recommended to the sheriff of Hampshire for knight of that shire in Parliament. (Strype, Eccl. Memorials.) The king visited him at his mansion of Warblington near Havant on the 2—4 Aug. 1553. On king Edward's death he sided, like the majority of the council, with queen Jane, but, also with the majority, went over to queen Mary (see the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 109). He was M.P. for Cheshire in 1 & 2 and 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary. He died on the 2d Oct. 1556, and was buried at Warblington (see his funeral described in Machyn's Diary, p. 115). He was succeeded at Warblington by his son sir George Coton, who was living in 1596; and a younger son was doctor Henry Coton, consecrated bishop of Salisbury in 1598, of whom Fuller relates in his Worthies, that "queen (whilst yet but lady) Elizabeth, being then but twelve years of age, was his godmother;" another circumstance which marks the father's favour with royalty.

Sir George Coton, the elder brother, is said to have been knighted by Henry VIII. and to have received the grant of the abbey of Combermere in Cheshire in 1540. On the 2d Oct. 18 Hen. VIII. (1526) there passed to George Coton and Thomas Seymour a grant of the stewardship of the castle of Lyons otherwise Holtes and other castles and lordships in the marches of Wales. (Wolsey MSS. at the Rolls House, No. 998.) This, I believe, was the same office which was enjoyed by Brereton, the presumed paramour of queen Anne Boleyn, who in a poem written by Cavendish says the king had made him

"Stewart of the Holt, a rome of great wjauing
In the marches of Wales, the which he gave to me."

Letters of the duke of Richmond to secretary Cromwell.

Among Cromwell's Correspondence in the State Paper Office are preserved seven letters addressed to that minister by the duke of Richmond :—

No. 224. A letter addressed "To my righte loving and espeeialle good frinde M^r Cromwell secretary to the kinges highnes," dated from Wyndesore the 6th Nov. [1534 ?] stating that, having given to his servant Antony Driland, the bearer, the reversion of the offices of the bailywick and keeper of the park of Coliweston, and understanding that it was the king's pleasure that the queen's grace should have that manor, he requests that Driland's claim should be respected. The letter is written by a secretary, but signed in the duke's hand, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RICHEMONDE."

No. 225. A letter from Norwich-plaee the xxvijth day of Octobre, [1534 ?] thanking Cromwell for "youre goodnes the which ye all only for my sake have showed unto my frynde William Grislyng * the bearer hereof," and praying for its continuance, Grislyng bringing also a testimonial under the seale of the towne of Plimmouth. Written by a secretary, and signed by the duke, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RICHEMONDE."

No. 226. A letter in favour of his "trustye and welbeloved servaunte Thomas Delaryver, gentilman ussher of my chambre," against whom "oone Roger Lassels, with Raffe Every, Robert Bowes, and John Barton, esquiers, wrongfullye and onelye of malice, have surmysed that he shulde hunte and slee a stagge within a certayne close of the abbot of Byland in the countie of York, the saide Roger Lassels being stewarde of the lands of the said abbott;" on which occasion Delaryver, "agenst the will and mynde of the said abbott," had been indicted of felony. Dated "At my manner of Canford the first day of June," [1535 ?] and signed in the duke's hand, "Your mooste assured lovinge frynde duringe his lyffe, H. RICHEMONDE."

No. 227. A letter dated from the same manor on the 11th of June, [1535 ?] stating that the duke was informed that the monastery of Byndon in the dioecese of Salisbury, being of the kinges patronage, is now voyd and hooly in his grace's gift and disposition, by reason of the decease of the late ineumbent there;† wherefore I considering that the said monastery dothe nere adjoyne to certayne landes of myne within the Isle of Purbeke, and that the convent of the same do fully intende from tyme to tyme to do me suehe pleasure as in them shall lye, as well in the sparing and encreasing my dere or game within my p^rley (*parley*) there as otherwise,"—he requests they might choose an abbot freely among themselves. Signed by the duke, "Youre assured lovinge frende to hys power, H. RICHEMONDE."

* William Grislyng was the husband of one of the duke's maternal aunts, as stated in the note at p. x.

† John Waleys occurs abbat of Bindon in 1523; and the last abbat was John Norman. The abbey, after having been suppressed in 27 Hen. VIII. (1536), was re-founded 16 Nov. 1537, but finally surrendered 14 March, 30 Hen. VIII. (1539). *Monasticon Anglie*. edit. 1825, vol. v. p. 655.

No. 228. A letter dated from Canford on the 13th June, [1535 ?] stating that since his coming into that country, "I and sir Giles Strangwais with other of my counsell have sene and viewed a certayne breeche above my towne of Poole called Northavyn poynte,* and do perceyve by the same that by reason of the sea it will be not only in processe of tyme greate prejudiee and hinderaunce to the kinges highnes in his customes there, but also ensue and be to the great annoyaunce and decay of my said towne by reason of the same;" on which behalf he requests Cromwell "to geve credence to oone William Byttillcome the berer hereof, being burgeys of the parliament for my saide towne." Signed in the duke's hand, "Youre assured loving frend to his power, H. RYCHEMONDE."

No. 229. A letter dated from Sheffield the iiijth day of July, [1534 ?] "ascertayning" maister secretary that "here in this country where I lye † I have no parke nor game to showe sporte nor pleasure to my fryndes when they shall resort unto me," and therefore sending, in a paper inclosed, (which is not preserved,) "aswelle the names of the kinges grounde in thes parties as of other," upon contemplation of which he trusted the king would provide him a remedy. Further, understanding that a parliament was about to be holden in Ireland, in which an act of resumption might be passed, he begged that a proviso might be inserted therein in favour of the bearer of the letter, his servant John Travers, gentilmanwaiter, who had received by the king's letters patents the farm of the fishing in the river of Banne. Signed, "Youre assured lovinge frende, H. RYCHEMONDE."

The following letter (No. 230) is holograph :—

"My owne good lovinge frynde Mayster Secretary, moost hartely I have me recommended unto you, righte hartely thankyng you for the greate kyndenes that ye have showed to me and to my fryndes at all tymes, Desyringe you to have me moost humbly and most lowly recommendyd unto the kinges highenes, And wher as I have knolege by my frendis in thes parties that his sayde highenes is fully purposyd wthin short while to take his viage in to France, whom I pray Jh'u safe conduyte in the same, I wold have byn very glad to have gyven attendaunce uppon hys sayd highenes iff it had byn his grace's pleasure, as my lovinge frynde mayster Knevyd the berer hereoff can acerteyn you, unto whom I righte hartly desyre and also pray you to be good frynde, Assuringe you that in youre so doing ye shall do unto me very singuler plesure, for he hathe byn ever a very lovinge and specielle frynde off myne, As knoweth Jh'u who ever kepe you in helth. At my Manor of Canford the last Day off June [1535 ?] Youre assured lovinge frende,

H. RYCHEMONDE."

Directed, "To my good loving frend Mr. Cromwelle, Secretary to the
kynges highnes and oone off his moost honorable Concelle."

The letters No. 224 and 229 retain their seals. They are both impressions of a signet

* North Haven Point is in the parish of Canford, and three miles east of Poole. Together with South Haven Point it forms the entrance of Poole Bay.—Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 1796, vol. i. p. 343. The harbour is described in the same volume at p. 14.

† The duke at this date appears to have been occupying the castle of Sheffield, which belonged to the earl of Shrewsbury.

bearing the duke's cognisance (as described in p. lxxx. and engraved in the frontispiece) within a garter.

Nos. 231, 232, and 233, are letters of Mary duchess of Richmond to Cromwell, written in her widowhood, and relating to her disputed dower. On this subject, to the references given in p. lxiii. should be added Miss Wood's "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies."

Among the Cromwell correspondence is also preserved the following letter of the duke of Richmond's governor George Cotton to Cromwell, written by the same secretary who penned the duke's letters from Canford :—

"Pleasith it youre Maistershippe to be advertised that in my lordes graces viage towardes Canford, there mett hym before he cam to Salisbury many wurshipfull men of this cuntrey, And receyved his grace verye lovingly in offering them selles to be at his commandement. And before his entrye into the said towne he was also receyved with very gentill ffac'on of the maire and aldermen of the same, the whiche presented hym with there* costely gifts. And in likewise the said wurshipfulle men have sense his said cumyng to Canforde made his said grace dyvers and costelye presentes, whose names and what they were shalbe sertified your M^rshippe hereafter. Also righte hartly I thanke youre Maistershippe of youre manyfolde goodnes, the whiche I have alway founde in yowe, by reason whereof I am, and during my lieffe shalbe alway, at youre commandement, as farre as my litle power will extende, as knoweth J^hu, who ever kepe you in helthe. At my lordes manour of Canforde the seconde day of June. [1555?]

(*Signed*)

Youres to his litle power,

GEORGE COTTON,

Directed, "To my righte especiale and very singuler good Maister,
Maister Cromwell, Secretary to the kinges highnes."

* *i.e.* their.

The duke of Richmond's last illness. Since this memoir was printed, I have met with the following note on this point in the last edition of Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*. "He died at Collewston, the late seat of Margaret Beaufort. King Henry VIII. had given him her property with the title of Richmond. Among the Hardwicke State Papers is one describing his progress to Collewston, evidently in the last stage of consumption. Some of the privy council escorted him; they describe the fluctuations of his health, and the difficulty they had to induce him to travel in a litter." (*Lives of the Queens*, edit. 1853, vol. iii. p. 346.) Presuming that Miss Strickland referred to the publication entitled "*Miscellaneous State Papers*," edited by Lord Hardwicke, in two volumes, quarto, 1778, I at once turned to that work; and since, apprehending some mistake, I have endeavoured to discover the document among the Cromwell correspondence in the State Paper Office; but as that collection is arranged alphabetically, and in fifty-five volumes, after looking under the names of Parr, Magnus, and Cotton (the duke's principal officers), I have relinquished the search, not knowing the writer of the letter, or that particular member of the privy council under whose name it may chance to be arranged. The note made by Miss Strickland contradicts, it will be observed, the statement of the chroniclers that the duke's death occurred at St. James's Palace. It is further remarkable as showing that Henry the Eighth's illegitimate, as well as his legitimate, son died of consumption, when rising towards manhood.

The Editor takes the present opportunity to correct the following errata in the "*Grants, &c. of King Edward the Fifth*." At p. xxx. (and in the Index) the judges Neelle, Choke, and Catesby received their appointments, not to the king's bench, but to the *common bench*, *i.e.* the court of common pleas. Huse, Fairfax, and Jenny were appointed to hear *placita eorum regis*, *i.e.* to the court of king's bench. Tremayle, Vavasour, and Townshende (*ibid.* and pp. 57, 58) were all appointed *king's* serjeants, the simple function of a serjeant-at-law being conferred without letters patent.

INVENTORY OF THE GOODS
OF
HENRY FITZROY, DUKE OF RICHMOND.

[MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 7 F. XIV. No. 16.]

Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xvij^o.

The INVENTORY of the DUKE of RICHMONDES GOODES,
that ys to saye, aswelle of his Wardrobes of the
Roobes and Beddes, as also of all his Plate of golde,
Juelles, Plate gilt, parcell gilt, and whyte, with the
Inventory of his Chapelle Stuff and Stable, taken
by me, JOHN GOSTWYK, the xxvth day of July, anno
prædicto.

THE WARDEROBE OF THE ROOBES.

Furst, a Gowne of crymsen Damask enbrodered alle over with golde
and furred with luzardes, with vij. grete buttons of golde, and
iiij. pair aglettes.

Item, a Gowne of blak velvet, enbroudered with a border of Venice
golde, the same lyned with blak velvet and satten of Bridges.

Item, a Gowne of purple velvet enbrodered with Venice golde, the
same lyned with yellow satten, and at the same gowne xvij.
grete buttons of golde, oon button lakking.

Item, a Gowne of purple satten tynselle, the same lyned with purple satten.

Item, a Gowne of incarnet damask, trymed with smale frynge upon a brode garde of incarnat velwet.

Item, a Mantell of the Garter of purple velvet, and the garter wrought with Venice golde.

Item, a Kyrtele of crymsen velvet, and a hudd of the same.

Item, a Robe of scarlet, and a kyrtele, with a hudde of the same.

Item, a Ryding Cote of grene satten, with a frenge of sylver.

Item, a Cote of grene taffata, welted with grene velvet. (Delivered by George Cotton to my lorde Tailebois.*)

Item, a Cote of whyte clothe garded with whyte velvet, and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a Cote of blak velvet, with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Cote of blak Damask, garded with ij. swelling weltes of blak velvet.

Item, a Cote of incarnat velvet, with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Cote of blak velvet, enbrodered with blak silk.

Item, a Cote of yellowe satten, welted with yelowe velvet and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a Cote of blak taffata, welted with blak velvet.

Item, a Doblet of blak velvet, enbrodered with frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Doblet of incarnat velvet, enbrodered with a brode frynge of Venice golde.

Item, a Doblett of crymsen satten, trymed with frynge of Venice golde, and lyned with yelowe sarcenet.

* Added in the margin.

Item, a Doblett of yellowe satten, lyned with purple sarcenet and welted with yellowe velvet.

Item, a Doble of blew satten, enbrodered with Venice silver.

Item, a Doble of red taffata.

Item, a pair of Hose of blak velwett, enbrodered with fringe of Venice golde.

Item, a paire of Hose of incarnat velwet, enbrodered with frenge of Venice golde.

Item, a paire of Hose of red taffata, lyned with white sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of yellow satten, lyned with blewe sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of whyte clothe, lyned with whyte sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of incarnat velwet, and lyned with yellowe sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of crymsen satten, enbrodered with Venice golde, and lyned with sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Hose of blewe, enbrodered with Venice silver, and lyned with whyte sarcenet.

Item, a paire of Sloppes, of blak velvet.

Item, a paire of Sloppes, of grene satten.

Item, a hole furre of sables.

Item, a hole furre of pampilion and black bogye.

Item, a riche Dagger, the scabert and haft well trymed or garnysshed with silver and gilt.

Item, a Bonnet of blak velwet, with a brooche of golde, and in the same a face, and iiij. rubyes, and xij. long buttons, and xij. paire of agglettes, and xiiij. smale buttons of golde.

Item, a Bonnet of blak velwet, with a brooche and a naked woman, with xvij. pair of agglettes and xvij. buttons, and a small cheyne about thededge of the same.

Item, two Hattes, oon grene, the other white.

Item, two Swyrdes.

Item, a gilt Wodknife, with a scabert and gyrdell of grene velwet,
the buckle and pendentes of the same gilt.

Item, a pece of blak kersey, conteynyng vj. yardes.

Item, a pece of white kersey, conteynyng vij. yardes.

Item, iiij. Coffers and oone Standerd.

Item, ij. Clokes, oon scarlet and the other frizado.

Item, vj. paire of velwet Shoes and a paire of Slippers.

Item, v. paire of Bootes and Buskyns.

Item, iiij. paire of Spurres.

Item, ij. Maales.

PLATE OF GOLDE.

Item, a Salt of golde, with a blak dragon and v. perles on the bak,
and upon the fote iiij. course saphirs, iiij. course balaces, xxiiij.
course garnyssing perles, and upon the cover of the same salt
vij. saphirs or glasses, and iiij. course balaces, and xxxij. gar-
nyssing perles, upon the knoppe a white rose with rubyes, and
a pyn of silver to bere the salt, going through the dragon, and
the bace made fast to a plate of silver and gilt under the said
bace, weing xxv. oʒ. di.

Item, a Salt of golde chevern-wise, with small perles and a saphir in
the knoppe thereof, weing ix. ouʒ.

Item, a Salt of golde rokky, weing v. ouʒ.

Item, a little Salt of birrall, the cover and fote well garnissed with
golde, stones, and perles; sente from my lorde Cardinale for a
New yeres gift anno xix^{mo}, with a ruby upon the cover, weing
vj. ouʒ.

Item, a Salt of golde, supposed to be of an unycorn horn, welle wrought and sett with perle³, and the cover with turkasses, sent from the King by Mr. Magnus, v. ou³. di.

Item, a Spone of golde, with a rose and pomegranat, ij. o³. qrt. di.

Item, a Spone of golde, sent from my lorde Cardinall for a New yeres gift, weing ij. o³. q^{art}.

Item, a Spone of golde, sent from therl of Northumberlande for a Newyeres gifte, weing ij. o³. di.

Item, a Cuppe of golde with a cover, with ij. borders about thebody and fote, and upon the knoppe the Kinges armes, xxxiiij. o³. ij. q^{art} di.

Item, a Cuppe of golde with a cover, geven by my lorde Legate, having in the cover a red flowre, and graven about the cuppe *de bon Cure*, weing xiiij. ou³. q^{art}.

JUELLS OF GOLDE, late in the custody and charge of George Cotton, and nowe delivered into thands of John Gostwyk:

Furst, a Coller of xxj^{ti} garters, and xxj. knottes of crowne golde, with a George set with dyamondes.

Item, a litill Cheyne with a George of cxxx. lynkes.

Item, a Garter of clene golde, set with ij. diamountes (one pointed and the other plaine).

Item, two Garters of Damask golde, the bokles and pendentcs of golde.

Iem, a Whistelle of golde.

Item, two Bracelets of golde, set with roses of rubyes and perle³ (and in either of them a rose of diamountes).

Item, a Ryng, with a pointed dyamount.

Item, a Ryng, with a smale turkas.

Item, a litille Cofer of silver, parcell gilt.

Item, a Garget of golde for my Lordes nekk, sent from the Kinges

highenes for a token, set with vij. white roses, enameled, weing ij. oʒ. di.

Item, a smale Cheyne of golde, part thereof enameled blak, of Parisse work, weing xxvij^s. vjd.

PLATE GILT.

Item, a Chalyce with a patent gilt, graven with *Calicem Salutaris*, weing xxj. ouʒ.

Item, a Chalice with a patent gilt, chaced with sonnes, weing xxx. oʒ. di.

Item, a Pix for the sacrament, gilt, weing viij. oʒ. di. di. q^{ar}l.

Item, a faire Pax with white roses, weing xxj. oʒ.

Item, a Belle with a clapper of silver and gilt, weing xj. ouʒ. q^{ar}l.

Item, a paire of Crewettes, gilt, graven about with scriptures, weing xiiij. oʒ. di.

Item, a paire of Crewettes, gilt, graven about with scriptures, weing xvj. oʒ. di.

Item, a paire of Senssours with lybertes heddes, gilt, weing lxv. ouʒ. di.

Item, a Shippe for frankensence, with a Spone, parcell gilt, with **30** and **35**, weing vj. ouʒ di.

Item, an holywater Stock and Sprinkelle gilt, graven with roses and portcolices, weing xiiij. oʒ. di.

Item, a Crosse with Mary and John, gilt and enameled, upon a fote gilt pounsed with roses, weing Cj. ouʒ.

Item, a Crosse gilt, with Mary and John standing upon a mount, gilt, with ded mens heddes, weing lxxvj. oʒ. iij. q^{ar}ls.

- Item, an Image of Saint Peter, standing upon a bace, gilt, with a key, a book, and a deademe, weing liiij. ouj.
- Item, an Image of St. Dorothe, with a baskett, and a garlonde of flowers, and a reede in her hand, weing lvj. ouj. di.
- Item, an Image of our Lady, with her Sonne in her armes, and a pomegranat in her hand, with a crowne on her hed, standing upon a bace, with a vise under the same, weing xlix. o3. q^{ar}l.
- Item, an Image of Saint Andrewe, gilt, standing upon a bace with a crosse in oone hande, and a booke in the other hande, weing xxxvij. ouj. di.
- Item, an Image of Saint Margaret, gilt, standing on a bace upon a dragon, a crowne on her hed, wantiug her crosse in her hande, xlvij. ouj.
- Item, an Image of Saint George, parcell gilt, standing upon a dragon on a bace, with hys swyrde, spere, and shilde, and an ostrige fether on his hed, lx. ouj.
- Item, a paire of gilt Candelstikkcs, chaced wrethen, for an aulter, weing lxxvij. ouj. iij. q^{ar}ts.
- Item, a pair of gilt Candlestikkcs, chaced with lozanges, for an aulter, weing lxiiij. o3. iij. q^{ar}ts.
- Item, four Chaundclers, gilt, prykkettes, for a table, ciij. ouj.
- Item, a standing Cuppe with a cover, properly pounced, and upon the cover a rose, weing xxiiij. ouj.
- Item, a standing Cuppe, with a cover, and vj. flowres de lice about the knoppe, with a blewe floure, of xxiiij. ouj. di.
- Item, a standing Cuppe, with a cover, with iij. flowres de lices in the knop, and the vth broken away, weing xxvj. ouj. iij. q^{ar}l di.
- Item, a Cuppe with a cover gilt, pounced, having v. flowres de lice in the knop, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift anno xxj^o, xxij. o3.
- Item, a Cuppe with a cover, gilt, with ij. eares, serpentes, and flowres

- de lice upon the cover, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift
a°. xx°. weing xix. ou3. dd.
- Item, a Cuppe, with a cover, gilt, flatt, pounced fether fassion, and
upon the knoppe the Kinges armes, parcell of the Kinges New
yeres gift anno xxiiij°. xxx. o3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a grete flat standing Cuppe, with a cover, gilt, well wrought,
the cover graven with *Gloria laus*, &c. parcell of the Kinges
Newyeres gift a°. xx°. iiij^{xx}. ou3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye, graven with a rose in the bottom, weing
viiij. o3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye gilt, with a ryng in the bottom, weing ix.
ou3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assaye, gilt, with an egle pounced in the bottom,
weing ix. ou3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Cuppe of assay gilt, plaine, weing vj. ou3. qr̄.
- Item, a Crewse for ale, properly pounced, and about the mowth of
the same *Da gloriam Deo*, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres
gift a°. xxj°. weing xij. o3. di.
- Item, a Crewse, with a cover and ij. eares pounced, upon the knoppe
ij. rynges and a rose, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift anno
xxij°. x. ou3. qr̄.
- Item, a Crewse with a cover and ij. eares, and upon the knop the
fassion of a flowre de lice, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift
a°. xxiiij°. weing xxij. ou3. iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, iiij. Bolles with a cover, gilt, chaced, with martletts, ciiij^{xx} xij.
ou3.
- Item, iiij. Bolles with a cover, gilt, chaced rokky, weing ciiij^{xx} o3.
iiij. qr̄s.
- Item, a Bolle with a cover, gilt, pounced with grete dropys, parcell
of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xviiij°. xlviij. o3. di.

Item, ij. flatt Flagons, gilt, with scutchions, weing CCxxviij. 03.

Item, Flagon, gilt, for rosewater, weing (*blank.*)

Item, ij. Saltes with a cover, gilt, weing xxv. ou3. iij. qr̄s.

Item, vj. Spones, gilt, of divers sortes, weing ix. 03. di., whereof remayneth the oone with the Duchess of Richemonde.

Item, two gilt Pottes, chaced wrethen fether fassion with crownes on the covers, weing together CCCxxxiij. 03.

Item, a paire of Pottes, gilt, chaced, the oon half wrethen, and the other pounced, weing Clxxv. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Pottes, playne gilt, weing Cxviij. 03. di.

Item, a paire of gilt Pottes playne, weing Cxx. 03. qr̄.

Item, ij. littill Pottes, gilt, graven with braunches, sent for the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xviiij°. weing lxviij. 03. iij. qr̄s.

Item, ij. littille Pottes, fynely gilt, pounced, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xx°. weing liiij. 03. iij. qr̄s.

Item, ij. litille plaine Pottes, quarteletts, parcell of the Kinges Newyeres gift a°. xxj°. weing lxxv. 03.

Item, ij. plaine Pottes, parcell of the kinges Newyeres gift a°. xxviij°. weing lxxij. 03.

Item, a Bason, gilt, with a sterre in the bottom, weing lxxij. 03. di.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, chaced with roses, weing iiij^{xx}.viij. 03.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, with a rose in the bottom, lxxv. 03. qr̄.

Item, a paire of Basons, gilt, covered, with a rose, Cxliiij. 03. di.

Item, a Bason, gilt, with a sterr in the bottom, and my Lordes armes, sent from the Kinges highnes for a Newyeres gift a°. xxviij°. lxxv. ou3.

Item, an Ewar, gilt, weing xxxiiij. 03. di.

Item, an Ewar, gilt, sent from the Kinges hyghenes for a Newyeres gift a^o. xvij^o. with a sterre upon the cover, and my Lordes armes, weing xxxvj. o³^a. qrt^l.

Item, a Leyer, gilt, chaced, rokky, weing xxj. o³. di. the same geven to the Countes of Westmerlande at the christenyng of her sonne, and for the same was delivered Cs. unto thands of William Amyas, which some of fyve pounds remayneth still in his handes to have bought another layer.

PLATE PARCELL GILT.

Item, a Chalice with a patent, parcell gilt, weing xvj. o³. di. di. qrt^l.

Item, a Chalice, with a patent, parcell gilt, weing vij. o³. iij. qrt^s. di.

Item, a holly water Stock and Sprinkelle, xxxiiij. o³. iij. qrt^s.

Item, a Bason, parcell gilt, with a sterre, weing xlvij. o³. qrt^l. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Basons, parcell gilt, weing C. ou³. qrt^l.

Item, ij. Basons, parcell gilt, weing Cvj. ou³. qrt^l.

Item, an Ewar, parcell gilt, plaine, weing xxvj. o³. iij. qrt^l. (delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Ewars, parcell gilt, with sonnes on the cover, xlvij. o³. di.

Item, ij. Ewers, parcell gilt, with bosses on the covers, xlvij. o³. qrt^l.

Item, iij. Chaundelers, parcell gilt, with prikkettes, lxxviiij. o³.

Item, a Chaundeler, for a boarde, parcell gilt, xxvj. ou³.

Item, ij. Saltes, viij-square, parcell gilt, with a cover, lvj. o³. qrt^l.

* Added in the margin.

Item, ij. Saltes, vj-square, parcell gilt, Parys plate, xxix.03.iiij.qr̄s.
 Item, a lowe Parys Salt, parcell gilt, weing xij. 03. iiij. qr̄s. (delivered
 to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, a paire of Kervyng Knives, weing xvij. 03. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, parcell gilt, martelets, weing iiij^{xx}xij. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, parcell gilt, martelettes, weing iiij^{xx}xij. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, gallonners, parcell gilt, weing cxxxv. ou3. di.

Item, ij. Pottes, gallonners, parcell gilt, weing cxliij. ou3. di.

Item, a ale Pott, parcell gilt, weing liij. ou3. q̄rter.

Item, ij. Pottes pottelers, parcell gilt, weing iiij^{xx}xix. 03. di. (de-
 livered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, v. Bolles without a cover, with high fete, parcell gilt, and grete
 droppes in the bottom, clviij. 03.

Item, vj. Bolles, parcell gilt, without a cover, plaine, with lowe feet,
 weing cxxxvij. 03. (whereof oon delivered to my Ladyes grace.*)

Item, ij. Flagons, parcell gilt, with chaynes and stoppelles, clviij. 03.

PLATE, WHYTE.

Item, vij. large Platters of silver, weing (*blank.*)

Item, thre dosen and oone Disshe, silver, weing (*blank.*)

Item, xij. Sawcers of silver, weing lxxxiiij. 03. q̄r̄.

Item, dosen Trenchers of silver, weing CCxlj. 03.

Item, a Chaffyng Dysshe of silver, weing lxj. 03. di.

Item, xij. Spones of silver, with di. knoppes, xxij. 03. whereof ij. to
 the Duches of Richemondes handes.

* Added in the margin.

NEW YERES GIFTES geven by the Kinges highenes and the Quene unto the said Duke of Richmonde, and not indented for, as hereafter foloweth :—

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A^o. xxv^{to}.

Furst, ij. gilt Pottes, quartelettes, plaine, without any armes in the covers, graven about the swage of the foote with antique work, weing lxx. ou³.

Item, a standing Cup, not wayed, with a cover, which was sent incontynently to the Duches of Norfolke for her Newyeres gift by George Hartwell.

THE QUENES NEWYERES GIFT A^o. xxv^{to}.

Item, a littille Salt, which was geven to Maistres Jennye the same yere, when the Duke christened her sonne.

Item, a Ryng, remaynyng with my Lordes grace, and never delivered into his treasure.

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A^o. xxvj^{to}.

Item, a standing Cup, graven, with a cover, gilt, with antique wourke, and in the topp of the cover a rose, xxij. o³.

Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, jugg fassion, graven with antique, having ij. eares, and the iiijth. lost, xxxij. o³. di. q^r℥.

THE QUENES NEWYERES GIFT A^o. xxvj^{to}.

Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, whiche was sent unto my Ladyes grace for a Newyeres gift.

Item, a Bonett furnished with buttons, and a litill brooche. Re-

mayning in my Lordes grace handes, and never delivered to his treasure.

THE KINGES NEWYERES GIFT A°. xxvij°.

- Item, a standing Bolle with a cover gilt, having upon the toppe of the same a litill boy with a spere and shilde, with a scripture graven in Frenche.
- Item, a grete Jugg with a cover gilt, with letters H and A crowned, and ij. cares of serpentes.
- Item, a Crewse with a cover gilt, graven with ij. ringes in the top of the cover, and ij. cares graven.
- Item, a littill Salt, with a cover, not wayed; the same geven away by my Lorde to Maistres Amy to her marriage.

CHAPELLE STUFF.

- Furst, ij. Aulter-clothes of blew bawdkyn.
- Item, ij. Aulter-clothes of grene velvet and white bawdkyn, paned.
- Item, iiij. Aulter-clothes of yellow and blew satten, whereof ij. at Tonges.
- Item, a Corporax of crimsen velvet.
- Item, iiij. Corporaces of Damask, and the iiijth at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Superaltries, whereof oone at Tonges.
- Item, a Vestymment of cloth of golde of Damask and crymsen velvet pirlid, with all thinges thereunto apperteynyng.
- Item, ij. Chesipples for the deacon and subdeacon, of the same stuff, with all thinges to them belonging.
- Item, a Vestymment of purple velvet, with angelles and floures, with all thinges to the same belonging.
- Item, ij. Chesipples for the deacon and subdeacon, belonging to the same vestiment.
- Item, a Vestiment of plaine purple velvet, with all thinges appertaynyng to the same.

- Item, iij. severall Vestimentes complete, of blewe damask, for the ferialle days, whcrof j. at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Copes of clothe of golde, of damask paned with crymsen velvet pirlid.
- Item, ij. Copes of purple velvet, with angelles and flowres enbroudered.
- Item, a Canopic of grene satten of Bridges, for the deane of the chapelle.
- Item, Travers of chaungeable sareenet.
- Item, a grete Masse book wrytten, covered with olde clothe of bawdkyn, with ij. claspes of silver and gilt (whiche ij. claspes remayneth with Mr. Stringer.*)
- Item, iij. other Masse bookes, whereof j. at Tonges.
- Item, iij. Ympners, and oon Antifoner.
- Item, oone Processioner.
- Item, a Boke prykked with keryes.
- Item, a grete Booke of masse, prykked.
- Item, xij. Surplusses of course lynnyn clothe, some for men and some for children.
- Item, vj. Auter-clothes of lynnyn, whreof ij. at Tonges.
- Item, ij. Standardes, whereof oon grete.

IIANGINGES FOR THE CHAPELLE.

- Item, the first pece of the Passion, of iiij. yardes in length, and iij. yardes in depenes.
- Item, the ij^{de}. pece of the same, of oone yarde and iij. quarters in lengthe, and iij. yards depe.
- Item, the iij^{de}. pece of the same, of iij. yardes long, and iij. depe (and iij. quarters.†)
- Item, the iiijth pece, of ij. yardes qr^o in length, and ij. yardes in depenes.

* Added *secunda manu*.

† *Secunda manu*.

Item, the vth pece, of iij. yardes long, and iij. yardes and iij. quarters depe.

Item, the vjth pece, of vij. yardes of lengthe, and iij. yardes depe.

Item, the vijth pece of the said Passion, of ij. yardes long, and iij. yardes depe.

THE WARDEROBE OF THE BEDDES.

HANGINGES.

Furst, a pece of Moses, conteynyng in lengthe vj. yardes, and depenes four yardes di.

Item, the ij^{de} pece of Moses, in lengthe vj. yardes iij. quarters, and in depenes four yardes iij. quarters.

Item, the iij^{de} pece of Moses and Balam, of viijth yardes iij. quarters, and four yardes quarter depe.

Item, the iiijth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yards qr℥, and four yardes qr℥ depe.

Item, the vth pece of Moses and Balam, of ix. yards and four yards di. depe.

Item, the vjth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yardes di. and iiij. yardes qr℥ depe.

Item, the vijth pece of Moses and Balam, of viij. yardes qr℥, and iiij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a pece of the Lady Plesaunce, accompanied with many Vertues, and assauted with divers Vices, containing in length x. yardes and one qr℥, and iij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a pece of King Lewes, of xj. yardes di. in lengthe, and iiij. yardes qr℥ depe.

Item, another pece of King Lewes, of vj. yardes iij. quarters in lengthe, and iij. yardes di. depe.

Item, a faire pece of rich Arras of the Image of Man and of Jessey, of xv. yardes in lengthe, and v. yardes depe.

- Item, a faire peece of Arras of the Coronation of Honnour, with
divers grete images therin, aswelle of the olde Testament as
also of the newe, of xiiij. yardes in lengthe, and fyve yardes
depe.
- Item, a peece of Tullyus Hostalius, of ix. yardes in lengthe, and iiij.
yardes iiij. quarters depe.
- Item, a peece of Tullius Hostalius, of ix. yardes in lengthe, and iiij.
yardes iiij. quarters depe.
- Item, a peece of Tullius Hostalius, of ix. yardes in lengthe, and iiij.
yardes depe.
- Item, a peece of Tullius Hostalius, of the same lengthe and depenes.
(a good hanginges.*)
- Item, the firste peece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yardes di. in lengthe,
and iiij. yardes depe.
- Item, the ij^{de} peece of Parys and Elen, of the same lengthe and of like
depenes.
- Item, the iiij^{de} peece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yardes iiij. quarters in
lengthe, and iiij. yardes di. depe.
- Item, the iiijth peece of Parys and Elen, of xj. yardes in lengthe, and
iiij. yardes iiij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vth peece of Parys and Elen, of x. yardes in lengthe, and
iiij. yardes di. in depenese.
- Item, the vjth peece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yards di. in lengthe,
and iiij. yardes iiij. quarters depe.
- Item, the vijth peece of Parys and Elen, of viij. yardes di. in length,
and iiij. yardes iiij. quarters depe.
- Item, the viijth peece of Parys and Elen, of x. yardes qrv, and iiij.
yardes di. depe.

* This memorandum is inserted *secunda manu* and it is not clear whether it was meant to apply to the suit of hangings that preceedes, or that which follows it.

Item, the first pece of Tapestrye, of iij. yardes qr^l, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.

Item, the ij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and depenes.

Item, the iij^{de} pece of Tapestrye, of iiij. yardes di. di. qr^l, and in depenes iij. yardes iij. quarters.

Item, the iiijth pece of Tapestry, of iiij. yardes qr^l di. and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.

Item, the vth pece of Tapestry, of iij. yardes di. di. qr^ls. in lengthe, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.

Item, the first pece of Hawking and Hunting, of vij. yardes long, and iij. yardes qr^l depe.

Item, the ij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and brede.

Item, the iij^{de} pece, of the same lengthe and brede.

Item, the iiijth pece, of the same lengthe and depenes : the storys ys of a goddesse sitting in a throne.

Item, the vth pece, of Hawking and Hunting, of vij. yardes in lengthe, and iij. yardes iij. quarters depe.

Item, the vjth pece, of a Lady sitting under a clothe of astate in her trone, of vij. yardes long, and iij. yardes di. depe.

Item, the first pece of Verdours, of iiij. yardes in length and iij. yardes depe.

Item, the ij^{de} pece of Verdours, of the same lengthe and brede.

Item, the iij^{de} pece, of iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the iiijth pece, iij. yardes iij. quarters long, iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the vth pece, iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the vjth pece, iij. yardes in lengthe, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the vijth pece, ij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the viijth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the ixth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.

Item, the xth pece, iij. yardes long, and iiij. yardes depe.

- Item, a Testour, panyd with clothe of golde, grene tynsell, and crymsen velwet, conteynyng in alle six panes of half the brede, with a frence of half a quarter depe of golde and silke, yellow, red, and grene.
- Item, a Counterpoint to the same, of the said cloth, tynsell, and velwet, conteynyng x. panes.
- Item, fyve Courteynes, of red and yellow sarcenet, of the same bedde, conteynyng xx^{ti} panes.
- Item, a Bedstede of waynscote to the same bed belonging, well kerved, with vices and garthes to the same.
- Item, a Testour of yellow and blue damask, with oone pane crymsen velwet in the middes, containing v. panes, frynged with yellow, red, and blewe silke, halfe a quarter depe.
- Item, v. Courteynes of the said collors of sarcenet, conteynyng xxx^{ti} panes of ij. yardes quarter depe.
- Item, a Testour of yellow and blewe damask, of the devise, making, and frence as ys aforesaid in every point. (The same cutt at the hedd behynd the bolster, when Sir William Courtney ley at my Lordes place at Canford.)
- Item, v. Courteynes of the aforesaid sarcenet, in collours, panes, and lengthe is above wrytten.
- Item, oone Bedstede of waynscote, kerved, with vices and garthes as is above said.
- Item, a Testour, of cloth of golde of bawdkyn, well worne, containing six narrow panes frence with grene and red silk.
- Item, a Counterpoint of the same stuff, conteynyng v. panes of the hole brede of bawdkyn, every pane in length iij. yardes di.
- Item, Courteynes of sarcenet for the same bed, red and yellow, conteynyng xij. panes, every pane being one yarde iij. quarters di. depe.

Item, a Sparver, of course purple tynselle, with a frence of yellowe and blewe course Parys silk, di. quarter depe, with iij. curteynes of chaungeable silk sarcenet, every curteyne conteynynge in lengthe iij. yardes.

Item, Counterpoints of all sortes, some bygger than some.

Item, thre grete Carpettes, and xij. smale carpettes.

Item, oone Clothe of Astate, of clothe of golde of Damask making, fringed with golde and red silk, quarter depe.

Item, a Chaire of clothe of golde, frynged with redde silk and golde, with iiij. pomelles of silver and gilt.

Item, a Chaire of crymsen velwet, enbrodered with the Duke's armes.

Item, a Chaire of crimsen velwet, fringed with silk.

Item, a Chaire of blak velwet, fringed with grene silk.

Item, a Cusshon of clothe of golde of Damask, quylted.

Item, a Cusshon of the same sorte of golde.

Item, a littill Cusshon of the same fassion.

Item, ij. Cusshons of clothe of golde, buttoned and tasselled with golde, iiij. tasselles wanting.

Item, ij. newe Cusshons, the oon side clothe of golde, and the other side russett velwet, with tasselles.

Item, iiij. Cusshons of crymsen velwet without knoppes, wherof iij. square, and the other long.

Item, oon Cusshon of purple velwet on the oone side, and the other side crymsen velwet, knopped and tasselled.

Item, a littill Cusshon of russet velwet.

Item. iij. Coffers.

- Item, xij. grete Beddes, with bolsters.
 Item, oone grete Bedde of downe with a bolster.
 Item, vij. Pillowes.
 Item, vij. paire of Fustians.
 Item, xij. paire of Sheetes.
 Item, viij. Pillow biers.

KECHEN STUFFE.

- Item, brasse Potts, bounden with iron, iiij.
 Item, other brasse Pottes, vj.
 Item, Pannes bounded with yron, iiij.
 Item, yron Rakkes, ij.
 Item, standert Broches, iiij.
 Item, rounde Broches, iiij.
 Item, square Broches, xij.
 Item, a Grydyron, j.
 Item, a Brasyn Morter, j.

SQUILLERY STUFFE.

- Item, Chargeours, iiij.
 Item, Platters, x. Dussen.
 Item, Disshes, xvij. Dussen.
 Item, Salcers, x. Dussen.
 Item, Plates, iiij.
 Item, a Standert.

THE STABLE.

- Furst, iiij. grete Horses, whereof oon a jennet, the ij^{de} a blak, the ij^{de} a bay, and the iiijth sorelled. (And the same jennet delyvered to the erlle of Surrey, with saddell and harnes of blak velwet.*)

* Added *secunda manu*.

Item, a Saddle of grene velwet, with a harnes of the same, frenged with grene silk.

Item, a Saddle of buff lether, with a harnes of blak velwet, trynmed with gilt wourke.

Item, a Saddle of white lether, with a harnes of blak velwet, with grete gilt bukkles.

Item, to all these Horses afore wrytten, brydells, clothes, collers, with alle other thinges to them belonging.

Item, a littill Mule, with a harnes of blak velwet, with studdes of gilt wourke, and a fote clothe of velwet.

Item, vj. Geldinges, with brydells, saddelles, and alle other thinges belonging to them (suche stuffe as it ys. Whereof iiij. delyvered unto the Duches of Richemonde, to convey her into Norfolk.*)

Item, iiij. Mules for carriage, with all thinges to them apperteynyng.

Item, iiij. Naggess. (whereof oon boughte of my lorde William, and oon geven to Mr. Cotton, whiche naggess I have not seen.†)

* Added *secundo manu*.

† Added *secundo manu*.

VIEW OF THE WARDROBE STUFF

OF

KATHARINE OF ARRAGON.

[MS. Reg. Brit. Mus. 7. F. XIV. Art. 23.]

A VIEWE takyne by Syr EDWARDE BAYNTON, Knyghte, the xiiijth daye of Februarie, in the xxvjth yere of the Reigne of oure Soveraigne lorde King Henrie the viijth, by the commaundemente of his highenes and to his graces use, of alle and singuler WARDE-ROBE STUFFE remaynyng the saide daye and yere within BAYNARDES CASTILLE, whiche late was THE PRINCESSE DOWGIERS, as particularlye folowithe :

HANGINGES OF VELVETTE FIGURIE.

Fyrste, of the saide hanginges, seevyne pecis paned red and grene, everye of them lyned with bokerhame and enbrowdered with the armes of Englande and Spayne, crowned with a crowne Imperialle, having boordres likewise enbrowdered with rooses, flouredelucis, and pomegarnettis.

HANGINGS OF TAPISTRYE.

- Of the Storye of Jasone. Fyrste, of the storye of Jasone syxe pecis, every of them lyned with canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece and the seconde cont' in lengthe either of them ix. yardis, the iij^{de} ix. yardis di. the iiijth vij. yardis, the vth vij. yardis di., the vjth iiij. yardis di., and everye of theme cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Of the Storye of Hercules. Item, of the storye of Hercules pecis foure, every of them lyned withe canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece cont' in lengthe x. yardis quar^r, the ij^{de} pece vij. yardis di., the iij^{de} pece ix. yardis di. the iiijth pece v. yardis q^r, and every of them cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- A Windowe pece of Hercules. Item, one windowe pece of the said storye of Hercules, lyned with canvas and lired, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, and in depthe iiij. quarters di.
- Of the Newe Lawe and Olde. Item, of the Newe Lawe and Olde pecis thre, lyned withe canvas and lired, everye of them cont' in lengthe viij. yardis iiij. quarters, and in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting v. Item, fyve pecis of hanginges of tapistrye soorting, wherof iiij. pecis be lyned withe canvas and the vth unlyned, whiche is brokene at one corner, three of theme cont' in lengthe the pece vij. yardes di., the iiij. pece viij. yardis, and the vth pece vij. yardis quarter, everye of them cont' in depthe iiij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting iiij. Item, three pecis of hanginges of tapistrye soorting, everye of them lyned withe canvas and lired, wherof the fyrste pece cont' in lengthe vij. yardis quarter, the ij^{de} and the iij^{de} cont' in length the pece vij. yardis, and everye of theme cont' in depth iiij. yardis quarter.
- Tapettis soorting iiij. Item, three pecis of hanginges of tapistrye, lyned withe canvas and lired, every of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde iiij. quarters, and in depthe ij. yardis di.
- Tapettis soorting ij. Item, two tapettis of tapistrye lyned with canvas and lired, either of

of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in depthe ij. yardis
iiij. quarters.

Item, two tapettis of tapistrye soorting, lyned with canvas and lired, Tapettis soort-
either of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde iiij. quarters, and in ing ij.
depthe ij. yardis di.

Item, one tapette of tapistrye crosse lyned with canvas cont' in One smalle ta-
bredithe iiij. yardis quarter, and in depthe iiij. yardis quarter di. pette.

Item, two windowe pecis of tapistrye, either of theme lyned withe Windowe pecis
canvas and lired, the one peece cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, of tapistrye ij.
and in depthe one yarde quarter di. The other cont' in
lengthe iiij. yardis, and in depthe one yarde di.

Item, three boordres of tapistrye lired and unlyned, cont' togeders in Boordres of ta-
lengthe xj. yardis, and everye of theme in breidthe di. yarde. pistrye.

HANGINGS OF VEERDOURS (SORE WOURNE).

Fyrste, three pecis of grene veerdours, withe smalle floures, everye Veerdours
of theme lyned withe canvas, cont' in breidthe the peece iiij. grene.
yardes quarter di. and in depthe v. yardis.

Item, one peece of veerdours paned white and red, lyned withe can- Veerdours red
vas, havinge a large tree in the myddes crowned, cont' in and white.
lengthe iiij. yardis di. and in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, brokene
and unserveable.

Item, one peece of white and grene veerdours, paned and quarter Veerdours white
lyned withe canvas, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis di., and in and grene.
breidthe iiij. yardis quarter, brokene and unserveable.

Item, one peece of white and grene veerdours paned, wroughte as
welle withe fawcons and feterlockes, as also withe rooses
and sonnes, quarter lyned with canvas, cont' in lengthe vij.
yardis, and in depthe iiij. yardes di.

Item, one peece of veerdours, quarter lyned withe canvas, having one Veerdours
large tree in the myddes crowned, and the kinges armes in the wroughte with
boordre likewise crowned, cont' in lengthe vij. yardis, and in the kinges
depthe iiij. yardis di. brente at the one corner. armes.

BEDDIS, THAT IS TO WITE AS WELLE CEELOURS AND TESTOURS, AS ALSO
SQUARE BEDDIS AND SPARVARS, WITHE THEIR COUNTERPOYNTE.

- A square bedde
of blewe vel-
vette en-
browdered.
- Fyrste, a square bedde of blewe velvette, enbrowdered as welle with
Rooses as also withe lettres crowned, lyned with blewe bokerhame,
and fringed with red silke and golde, havinge a counterpoynte
of the saide stuffe likewise enbrowdered and lyned, and the cur-
teynes be lacking.
- Sparvars.
- Item, a sparvar of Damaske golde Turkey making paned crymsene
and blewe, lyned withe blewe bokerhame, havinge single va-
launce fringed withe purple silke and Venysse golde, withe a
counterpoynte of the saide stuffe, and mantille and curteynes of
purple sarcenette.
- Item, a sparvar paned of yalowe clothe of golde, clothe of silver withe
workys, and russette velvette lyned withe blewe bokerhame,
havinge single valaunce, fringid as welle withe silke of white,
yalowe, and russette colours, as also withe Venysse golde, withe
mantille and curteynes of russette sarcenette.
- Ceelours and
Testours.
- Item, a ceelour, testour, and counterpoynte, of white damaske, withe
loosingies of yalowe clothe of golde, lyned with red bokerham,
havinge single valaunce fringide withe white and red silke,
withe two curteynes of white sarcenette, either of theme cont'
iiij. bredis of the saide sarcenette, and in depthe iiij. yardes qr?
- Item, a ceelour, testour, and counterpoynte for a cradille paned of
yalowe clothe of golde, and crymsene velvette lyned withe grene
bokerhame, havinge single valaunce fringid with blewe and
red silke myxid withe Venysse golde, withe iiij. curteynes paned
of red and blewe sarcenette, everye of theme cont' in depthe one
yarde ij. quarters, and in bredithe one yarde quarter.
- A large canapie
of clothe of
golde and vel-
vette paned.
- A large canapie paned as welle of yalowe clothe of golde, as also of
grene and blewe velvette enbrowdered withe rooses, every of
theme crowned withe a crowne imperialle, lyned withe purple
sarcenette, and fringid withe grene silke and Venysse golde.

- Item, a riche clothe of astate of crymsene clothe of tissue enbrowered with the tharmes of Englande and Spayne, as welle in the ceclour and testour, as also in the valaunce, lyned with the grene bokerhame, havinge doble valaunce fringid with the crymsene silke and Venysse golde, the ceclour cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis, and in bredithe iiij. yardis quarter, the valaunce in depthe di. yarde, and the testour cont' in depthe iiij. yardes di. di. quarter, and in bredithe iiij. yardis di.
- Item one peece of the saide clothe of tissue with a large scochione of tharmes of Spayne in the myddis, lyned with the grene bokerham, cont' in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe iiij. yardis di. di. quarter, whiche belongid to the saide clothe of astate whatte tyme it was a bedde.
- Item, two pecis of the saide clothe of tissue unlyned, the one cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di. quarter, and in bredithe one yarde quarter, and the other peece cont' in lengthe ij. yardis quarter and in bredithe di. yarde di. quarter, whiche was parcelle of the saide clothe of astate whatte tyme it was a bedde.
- Item, three curteynes of red clothe of golde with the workys, everye of theme lyned with the Damaske white and grene, cont' in the hoole xij. bredis of the saide clothe of golde, and in depthe the peece ij. yardis skante.
- Item, two curteynes of taffata paned white and red, cont' booth vij. bredis of the saide taffata, and either of theme in depthe iiij. yardis quarter, perissid with rattis.
- Item, two curteynes of Damaske paned white and purple, cont' booth vj. bredis of the saide Damaske, and either of theme cont' in depthe iiij. yardis quarter.
- Item, two curteynes of silke chamlette, paned red, grene, russette, yalowe, and tawneye, cont' booth viij. bredis of the saide stuffe unlyned.

A clothe of
astate of riche
clothe of tissue.

Frustrate pecis
of clothe of
tyssue.

Curteynes of
clothe of gold.

Curteynes of
taffata.

Curteynes of
damaske.

Curteynes of
silke chamlette.

CUPBOURDE CLOTHES.

- Of crymsen
velvette upon
velvette. Fyrste, a cupbourde clothe of crymsene velvette upon velvette
boordrid withe clothe of tissue, havinge iiij. buttons and
tassellis of red silke and Venysse golde, and lyned withe
bokerhame, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di., and of iij. bredis of
the saide velvette.
- Of velvette of
dyverse
colours. Item, a cupbourde clothe of velvette of sondrye colours, wroughte
carpettewise, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis quarter and in bredithe
one yarde di.
- Of velvette
figurye. Item, a cupbourde clothe of grene velvette figurye, lyned withe
bokerhame, havinge iiij. buttons and tassellis of grene silke and
Venysse golde, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and of iij.
bredis of the saide velvette figurye.
- Item, a cupbourde clothe of red velvette figurye boordrid withe
clothe of tissue, havinge iiij. buttons and tassellis of red silke
and Venysse golde, and lyned withe bokerham, cont' in length
iij. yardis quarter, and of iij. bredis of the saide velvette
figurye.
- Of crymsen
velvette, olde. Item, an olde cupbourde clothe of crymsene velvette lyned withe
bokerhame, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis iij. quarters di. and of
iij. bredis of the saide velvette.
- Table carpettis. Item, one table carpette newe, wroughte with rooses white and red,
cont' in lengthe vj. yardis, and in bredithe ij. yardis di. quarter.
- Item, one table carpette withe a blewe boordre at either ende, cont'
in length iiij. yardis iij. quarters, and in bredithe ij. yardis di.
quarter.
- Item, one table carpette withe a red boordre at either ende, cont' in
lengthe iiij. yardes quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis.
- Item, one table carpette withe a yalowe boordre at either ende,
cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di. skante, and in bredithe ij. yardis.
- Footte carpettis. Item, a footte carpette withe an uttre boordre of white and grene

colours, cont' in lengthe viij. yardes, and in bredithe iij. yardis quarter skante.

Item, a foote carpette withe an uttre boordre of white, red, and blewe colours, cont' in lengthe vij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters.

Item, an olde foote carpette, sore brokene, withe a red boordre at either ende, cont' in lengthe vj. yardis, and in bredithe ij. yardis di.

Item, a cupbourde carpette, mooste of red and yalowe colours, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis, and in bredithe one yarde di. A cupbourde
carpette.

Item, two blacke windowe carpettis, the one cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, and in bredithe one yarde quarter; and the other in lengthe one yarde di., and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter. Windowe
carpettis.

CUSSHYNS LONGE AND SQUARE.

Fyrst, two longe cushyns of playne clothe of golde, either of them cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in bredithe iij. quarters. Long cushyns.

Item, foure square cushyns, the outesides of everye of theme clothe of tissue, and the backsides pleyne clothe of golde, everye of them cont' iij. quarters of a yarde square and upon theme alle vij. knoppis withe tassellis of red silke and Venysse golde. Square
cushyns.

Item, two longe cushyns paned of clothe of tissue and crymsene velvette, either of them cont' in lengthe iij. quarters iij. nayles, and in bredithe di. yarde and a nayle. Long cushyns.

Item, one long cushyne, the outeside nedilleworke, and the backside grene damaske, cont' in lengthe iij. quarters di. and in bredithe di. yarde di. quarter.

Item, one square cushyne paned, of clothe of tissue and crymsen velvette, cont' square di. yard di. quarter. Square
cushyns.

Item, two cushynes of purple clothe of golde, either of them cont' square di. yarde di. quarter.

Item, two olde square cushyns of pleyne clothe of golde, sore brokene, either of theme cont' iij. quarters of a yarde square.

COUNTERPOYNTEs.

Counterpoyntes unversable. Item, two counterpoyntes of tapistrye, either of theme lined withe canvas brokene and unversable.

Counterpoyntes of tissue furred withe powdris armyns, provided for the Princesse Dowgier whatte tyme she laye in childe bedde. Item, one counterpoynte of astate of riche purple tissue furred withe powdris armyns, and lyned withe white fustian, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di., and in bredithe iiij. yardis di. quarter, provided for the Princesse Dowgier whatte tyme she laye in childe bedde. Item, one heede pece of the saide clothe of tissue appoyntid for the forenamed counterpoynte, likewise furred withe powdris armyns, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis, lackinge a nayle, and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter.

Item, one counterpoynte of astate of crymsene clothe of tissue, late furred withe powdris armyns, which furre is ripped oute of the saide counterpoynte, and remayneth with the same counterpoynte, somewhatte perissid, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis di. and in bredithe iiij. yardis, lyned withe white fustiane, provided for the Princesse Dowgier as is aforesaide.

Item, one heede pece belonging to the saide counterpoynte of like cloth of tissue, late furred with powdris armyns ripped oute, and somewhatte perissid, remayning withe the saide hede pece, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis iij. quarters, and in bredithe one yarde iij. nayles.

Counterpoynte of skarlette. Item, one counterpoynte of skarlette, lyned withe fustiane, cont' iij. bredis of the same skarlette, and in lengthe iiij yardis iij quarters, sore perissid withe mowthis.

BEDDIS WITH THEIR BOULSTERS.

- Fyrste, a paliotte of Brusells tyke filled withe bastarde downe, cont' ^{A paliotte filled with} in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. ^{bastarde downe.} quarters di., withe a boulster according to the said paliotte.
- Item, one paliotte of Brusells tyke fyllid with fethers, cont' in lengthe ^{Paliotts filled with} iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters di., ^{fethers.} withe a boulster accordinge to the saide paliotte.
- Item, one paliotte of Brusells tyke, filled withe fethers, cont' in lengthe iij. yardis quarter, and in bredithe ij. yardis iij. quarters di., withe a boulster lacking in lengthe of the bredithe of the paliotte one quarter di., for that it was chaungid.

PILLOWIS OF FUSTIAN FILLED WITH DOWNE.

- Fyrste, two pillowis of downe covered withe fustian, either of theme ^{Pillowis of iij. bredis} cont' in lengthe one yarde quart' di., and of iij. bredis of the ^{of fustiane the pece,} saide fustiane. ^{and one yarde quarter} di. long.
- Item, two pillowis of downe, likewise covered with fustiane, either ^{Pillowis of one yarde} of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde, and in bredithe di. yarde ^{in lengthe the pece,} di. quarter. ^{and of di. yarde, di.} quarter brode.
- Item, three pillowis of downe in like maner covered, everye of theme ^{Pillowis of iij. bredis} cont' in lengthe iij. quarters di., and of iij. bredis of the saide ^{of fustiane the pece,} fustiane. ^{and iij. quarters di.} long.

SHETYS.

- Fyrste, three paire of shetys of Cameryeke clothe, everye shete cont' ^{Shetis of fyve bredis of} fyve bredis of the same Cameryeke, and in lengthe fyve yardis di. ^{Cameryeke and five} yardis di. long.
- Item, one shete of Cameryeke, cont' fyve bredis of the same ^{One shete cont' fyve} Cameryeke, and in lengthe fyve yardis. ^{bredis of Cameryeke,} and in lengthe fyve yardis.
- Item, one paire shetis of Cameryeke clothe, either shete cont' iij. ^{Shetis of foure bredis} bredis of the same clothe, in lengthe foure yardis, wherof one ^{of Cameryeke, and in} shete is sore broken. ^{lengthe foure yardis,} wherof one shete sore broken.

- Shetis of iij. bredis of Cameryeke, and of iij. yardis iij. quarters long. Item, one paire shetys of Cameryeke clothe, either shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, in lengthe iij. yardis iij. quarters, and no more for that iij. quarters of a yarde was cutte of the lengthe of either of theme.
- Shetys of three bredis of Cameryeke, and foure yardis quart' long. Item, three paire and one shete of Cameryeke clothe, everye shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in length foure yardis quarter.
- Shetys of two bredis of Cameryeke, and foure yardis quart' long. Item, two paire and one shete of Cameryeke clothe, everye shete cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis quarter.
- Sheetis of three bredis of Hollande clothe, and of foure yardis di. long. Item, three shetis of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of them cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis di.
- A bearing shete of Hollande clothe. Item, one bearinge shete of Hollande clothe, cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe two yardis di.
- A towelle of one bredithe of Cameryeke, and vij. yardis quarter long. Item, one towelle of Cameryeke clothe, cont' one bredith of the same clothe, and in lengthe vij. yardis quarter.

PILLOWBERES.

- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and one yarde quarter di. long. Fyrste, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of theme cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde quarter di.
- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and one yarde qrt' long. Item, foure pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde quarter.
- Pillowberes of two bredis of Hollande, and of one yarde di. quart' long. Item, three pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' in lengthe one yarde di. quarter, and of two bredis of the saide clothe.
- Pillowberes of one bredithe of Hollande, and of one yarde long. Item, fyve pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of theme cont' one bredithe of the same clothe, and in lengthe one yarde.

FUSTIAN BLANCKETTIS.

- Fustians of vj. bredis the peece, and long newe. Fyrste, one paire of fustiane blanchettis newe, either blanchette cont' vj. bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe [*blank*].

- Item, one paire of fustiane blanchettis, somewhatte worne, either blanchette cont' vj. bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe iiij. yardis iiij. quarters. Fustians of a vj. bredis the pece, and iiij. yardis iiij. quarters long.
- Item, one paire of fustiane blanchettis, either blanchette cont' fyve bredis of the same fustiane, and in lengthe three yardis three quarters. Fustians of a v. bredis the pece, and of iiij. yardis iiij. quarters long.
- Item, one paire fustiane blanchettis, either blanchette cont' foure bredis of the same fustian, and in length three yardis. Fustians of iiij. bredis the pece and iiij. yardis long.

CHAYRES.

- Fyrste, one chayre of iron richelye covered with crymsene clothe of tissue, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, and it belongieth to the forenamed clothe of astate, with a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A chayre covered with crymsen clothe of tissue appoynted for the forenamed clothe of astate, of like clothe of tissue.
- Item, three chayres of iron, everye of theme covered withe crymsene clothe of tissue, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, and a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton, wherof one is hoolle and servesable, another is broken and maye be made servesable, and the thurde is broken and unservesable. Three chayres everye of theme covered withe crymsene clothe of tissue, wherof one servesable, another brokene and maye be made servesable, and the iiijth is brokene and unservesable.
- Item, one lowe chayre of iron covered withe yalowe clothe of golde withe workis, and fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, having two gilte pomellis, withe a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A lowe chayre covered withe yalowe clothe of golde.

LYTILLE STOOLYS.

- Fyrste, a lytille stoole covered withe yalowe clothe of golde, withe workys, fringid withe red silke and Venysse golde, with a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same. A stole covered withe yalowe clothe of gold withe workes.
- Item, a lytille square stoole, covered with grene velvette, enbrowe- A stole covered withe
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grene velvette, and embrowdered withe golde.

dered withe golde, and fringid withe grenesilke and Venysse golde, havinge a case of lether lyned withe yalowe cotton to the same.

A stole covered withe blacke velvette, and embrowdered withe golde.

Item, a lytille stole covered withe blacke velvette embrowdered withe golde, and fringid with blacke silke and Venysse golde, having a case of lether lyned with yalowe cotton to the same.

TABLES FOR A CLOOSETTE.

A table of the iij. kinges of Coleyne.

Fyrste, a large table withe two leavis, of the three Kinges of Coleyne making their oblacione to Criste.

A table of oure ladye of petie.

Item, a large table withoute leavis, of oure Ladye of Petie.

A table of a quene making peticion to oure ladye.

Item, a table of a Quene making peticion to oure Ladye and Seynte Elizabeth.

A trussinge bedstede.

Item, a lytille trussinge bedsteede complete, withe two lether cases to trusse it in, without aparelle.

A trussing cofar.

Item, one lytille trussing coofar, cont' in length one quarter of a yarde and three nayles.

A paire of dowcemers.

Item, one paire of dowceemeers broken, and oute of frame, withe a case of tymbre covered with blacke lether.

A targette.

Item, a targette of corke covered withe crymson satten, enbrowdered withe tharmes of Englande and Spayne.

A clothesacke.

Item, a clothesacke cont' in lengthe two yardis quarter, and in bredithe one yarde di. quarter, withoute lace and brace.

A carte canvas.

Item, one carte canvas olde cont' fyve bredis of the same canvas, and in lengthe syxe yardis.

Paliotte cases of canvas newe.

Item, two newe paliotte cases of canvas, the one cont' iij. bredis di. of the same canvas, and in lengthe iiij. yardis, the other cont' in bredithe ij. yardis, and in lengthe ij. yardis quarter.

Paliotte cases of canvas olde and broken.

Item, three paliotte cases of canvas olde and brokene.

Canvast to hange before presses and windowis in the Warderobe.

Item, fyve peces of canvas belonginge to the presses and windowis in the Warderobe, cont' togeders xxiiij. yardis quarter of the saide canvas.

- Item, the upper bodyes of syxe and thurtye cootys of russette clothe and grene velvette stryped, everye of them enbrowdered as welle upon the breeste and backe with a large roose upon a sheffe of arrowis, garnysshid and enriched with spangilles of silver and gilte, as also aboute the coller with lettres of like silver and gilte, whiche upper bodyes be moche defaced for that mooste of the arrowe heedis and also manye of the saide lettres and spangilles be pyked of.
- Item, two and thurtye Flaundres halbartis belonging to the said cootis.

The upper bodyes of the riehe cootys of russette and grene made ayenste the campe.

Halbartis.

A viewe takyn by Syr Edward Baynton, knyghte, the xiiijth daye of Februarye in the xxvith. yere of the reigne of oure soveraigne lorde king Henry the viijth. by the commaundemente of his highness, and to his grace's use, of alle and singuler suche stuffe remaynyng the said day and yere within Baynardis Castille, in the charge and custodie of Mr. Fraunceys Philippes, whiche late was Princesse Dowgiers, as particularly folowithe:—

WARDROBE STUFFE.

- Fyrste, xiiij. paire of shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' iiij. bredis of the saide clothe, and in lengthe iiij. yardis quarter.
- Item, one paire of shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, wroughte with Spanysshe worke of blacke silke upon the edgies, either shete cont' iiij. bredis of the saide clothe, and in lengthe iiij. yardis di.
- Item, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them wroughte with silke and golde, and garnysshid with buttons of golde.
- Item, fyftene pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, everye of them wroughte with goodelye workys of silke and Venysse golde.

Shetis.

Pillowberes.

- Item, foure smalle pillowberes of assaye, everye of theme beinge of fyne Hollande clothe, wroughte likewise withe goodlye workis of silke and Venysse golde.
- Fetherbeddis
withe their
boulsters. Item, one fetherbedde of Brusells tyke cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., in bredithe ij. yardis, withe a boulster accordinge to the same.
- Item, one fetherbedde of Brusells tyke, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., and in bredithe one yarde iij. quarters, withe a boulster accordinge.
- Fyne matrasses
filled withe
wulle. Item, a mattras covered withe lynnene clothe, and filled with wulle, cont' ij. yardis iij. quarters square.
- Item, two matrasses covered withe Hollande clothe, for a cradelle, either of them filled withe wulle, the one cont' in lengthe one yarde di., and in bredithe iij. quarters di., the other cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter, and in bredithe iij. quarters.
- Counter-
poyntes. Item, a counterpoynte of skarlette lyned withe fustian, cont' two bredis of the saide skarlette, and in lengthe iiij. yardis iij. quarters.
- Item, a counterpoynte of veerdours unlyned, withe beastis and fowlis in it, cont' in lengthe iiij. yardes, and in bredithe iij. yardis.
- Blankettis. Item, one paire of fustian blankettis, either blankette cont' fyve bredis of the saide fustian, and in lengthe iiij. yardis.
- Item, seevyn wullen blankettis, everye of them cont' one bredithe, and in lengthe ij. yardis di.
- Item, one wullen blankette, cont' two bredis, and in lengthe iiij. yardes di.
- Pillowis. Item, fyve pillowis of downe, everye of theme cont' one bredithe di. of fustian, and in lengthe one yarde quarter.
- Item, syxe pillowis of downe, every of them cont' one bredithe of the fustian, and in lengthe iij. quarters.
- Cusshyns. Item, two cusshyns of tyke, filled withe flockis.
- Windowe
carpettis. Item, syxe smalle windowe carpettis, every of them cont' in lengthe ij. yardis, and in bredithe one yarde quarter.
- A ceelour and
testour of
sarcenette. Item, a ceelour and testour of red sarcenette for a cradelle, the ceelour

cont' in lengthe ij. yardis di., and of two bredis of the saide sarcenette, the testour cont' in depthe ij. yardis, and of ij. bredis of the same sarcenette, having single valaunce fringid withe red silke, and also three curteynes of the saide sarcenette, everye of them cont' in depthe ij. yardis.

Item, one canapie of red sarcenette, cont' in depthe ij. yardis quarter, with a hoope to the same fringide withe red silke. A canapie of sarcenette.

Of the same lire white, eighte hoolle pecis. Rounde lyre.

Item, one steele glasse broken, withe cordons, buttons, and tassellis of red silke and Venysse golde, havinge a hooke of silver and gilte to hange it bye. A steele glasse.

NAPRYE FOR THE EWRYE.

Fyrste, two hande towellis of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them wrought at boothe endis withe Venysse golde, and fringed withe silke. (Delyvered to the Kinges highnes.*) Towellis.

Item, three longe towellis of fyne Hollande clothe, every of them wroughte with goodelye workis of silke and golde.

CLOOSETTE STUFFE.

Fyrste, foure tables of nedilworke, wherof (*blank*). Tables for aultres.

Item, a lytille table, on the one side oure Ladye withe her Sonne in her armes, and on the other side tharmes of Englande and Spayne.

Item, a lytille table of Seynte Fraunceys.

Item, a pyxe clothe of copar clothe of golde, fringed withe like golde, withe a boxe for the same, covered withe blacke lether. A pyxe clothe.

Item, one prynmar written in vellom, covered withe clothe of golde, havinge two claspis of silver and gilte. A prynmar.

Item, a riche clothe of launde, withe a pictoure of Criste therein wroughte in gold withe nedilwork, baptized by Seynte John, A fyne launde wroughte with nedilworke.

* Added *secunda manu*.

likewise wrought, and garnysshid aboute the edgies with the Venysse golde. (Delyvered to the kingis highnes.*)

Cipresse clothis. Item, two Cipresse clothes, the one cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis di. and of v. bredis of the saide Cipresse, and the other cont' in lengthe iiij. yardis and of iiij. bredis of the same Cipresse.

Tables of son-drye pictours. Item, a smalle table of Seynte John Baptiste.

Item, a smalle table of iverye of the marterdam of Seynte Katerine.

Item, a smalle table of nedillworke of the image of Criste.

Item, another like table of nedillworke.

Item, a table of nedillworke of oure Ladye and Seynte Anne.

Item, a table of nedillworke of Josephe and oure Ladye.

Item, a peyntid table of Josephe and oure Ladye.

Item, a large peyntid table of oure Ladye and her Sonne.

Item, one small clothe of nedillworke of oure Ladye and her Sonne.

Item, one smalle table of nedillworke of Seynte Frauncies.

Item, one table peyntid representing the pictours of the King and the Princesse Dowgier.

Item, a table of iverye withe two leavis, havinge in the table a pictoure of oure Ladye and her Sonne, of the saide iverye, and in the leavis dyverse other pictours of the same iverye.

Item, a lytille table of nedillworke of Josephe and oure Ladye.

Cusshyns of purple velvette. Item, three cusshyns of purple velvette, whereof two cont' in lengthe the pece iiij. quarters, and the iij^de one yarde di. quarter, everye of them of the bredithe of the saide velvette.

Shetis of Camerycke and Hollande clothe. Item, two paire shetys of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe foure yardis quarter.

Item, syxe paire shetis of fyne Hollande clothe, everye shete cont' two bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe three yardis skante.

Item, three paire shetis of Hollande clothe of a courser soorte, everye shete cont' two bredis di. of the same clothe, and in lengthe three yardis di.

* Added *secunda manu*.

- Item, two paire shetis of Cameryke clothes, every shete cont' three bredis of the same clothe, and in lengthe iiij. yardis.
- Item, two pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, either of them cont' in lengthe one yarde di. and of two bredis of the saide clothe. Pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe.
- Item, seevyn pillowberes of fyne Hollande clothe, every of them cont' in lengthe three quarters of a yarde and in bredithe di. yarde.
- Item, a cuppe of horne withe a covar, garnysshid withe auntique workis, the knoppe of the covar and the foote of the cuppe iverye. (Delivered to the Quenes grace. *) A cuppe of horne garnysshid with antiques and other.
- Item, two working stoolis for gentilwomen, wherof the one is covered withe grene velvette, and garnysshid with silver, and the other covered withe crymsen velvette garnysshid withe gilte nayles. Working stoolis as well of waynescotte covered with velvette, as also of iverye. (Delyvered to the Quenes grace. *)
- Item, two working stoolis of iverye, the one within the other, and one case for them booth, with certeyne necessaries of iverye belonging to the same.
- Item, a lytille stoole to sytte upon, covered withe redde velvette fygury and fringid withe red silke. A lytille stoole covered with the red velvette fygury.
- Item, two cheste bourdis of iverye, either of them furnysshid withe cheste men of like iverye, the one withe a claspe and hengies of silver, and the other withe hengies of latene. (Delyvered to the Kinges highnes. *) Chest bourdis of iverye furnysshid with chestmen.
- Item, one paire of tables of peerle, the edgies garnysshid withe silver and gilte, withoute table men. A paire of tables withoute tablemen.
- Item, one case covered with blacke lether, having therin syxe thynne leavis of waynescotte, to playe at foxe, chestys, and other games, wherof foure have ringes of silver to hange bye. Leavis of waynescot to playe at foxe, chestys, and other games.
- Item, chestmen of iverye, red and white, belonging to the chestbourdis of iverye. Delyvered unto the Kinges grace. Chestmen of iverye. Delivered to the Kinges highnes.
- Item, a blacke boxe of chestmen of iverye, lacking the cheste bourde.
- Item, seevyn paire slippers of the Spanysshe fasshion, corkid and garnysshid withe golde. Slippers of the Spanysshe fasshion.

* Added *secunda manu*.

A case of trenchiers. Currelle.	Item, one case of woode trenchiers, cont' one dussen. (Delyvered to the Queene.*) Item, a large branche of currelle broken.
Necessaries provided for the Princesse Dow- gier, whatte tyme she laye in child bedde.	Fyrste, three smockis offyne Hollande clothe, wherof two be wroughte aboute the collers withe golde, and the thurde wroughte aboute the collar and at the handis with silke. Item, a launde, to covar a childe, fringid with golde. Item, two doble peticootis of fyne Hollande clothe. Item, two roullers, the one lynnene, and the other wullen. (Delivered to the Queene.*)
Looking glasses.	Item, three breeste clothis of Hollande clothe, withe tapis of the same. Item, one glasse sette in clothe of tissue, edgid withe crymsen velvette. Item, one glasse sette in wire golde, garnysshed withe counterfette peerle, and lyned withe crymsen satten.
Pyncasses.	Item, three pyncasses, whereof two covered withe clothe of golde, and the iiij ^{de} of nedille worke.
A brasier.	Item, one brasier of Venysse golde, wroughte with the lettres M. R. with a garde of crymsen velvette in the myddes.
Bookys.	Item, three bookes covered withe red lether, garnysshid withe golde foyle, and tyed with grene reabande. Item, seevyntene other bookys, smalle and greate, lockid in a cheste.
Balaunce.	Item, one paire of balaunce, withe two piles of brasse weightes, the one greate and the other smalle, in a case covered withe blacke lether.
Hampers.	Item, two hampers covered withe blacke lether.
A desk covered with black velvette.	Item, a deske covered withe blacke velvette, and garnysshid withe gilte nayles. (Delivered to the Kingis highnes.*)
A cofar of ivery.	Item, one lyttile broken coofar of iverye, garnysshid withe inagrye, having a handille, locke, and jemewis of silver.
A cofar covered with crynsen velvete.	Item, one cofar covered with crymsen velvette, garnysshid with gilte nayles, having foure tilles therin, the fore fronte of every of them gilte. (Delivered to the Queene.*)

* Added *secunda manu*.

Item, a blacke cheste of Flaundres making, cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter. A cheste of Flaundres making.

Item, fyve standardes, every of them covered with lether and peyntid red, wherof one cont' in lengthe one yarde quarter, another cont' in length one yarde di., and the iiij^{de} in lengthe likewise one yarde di., the iiijth of like lengthe, and the vth in lengthe one yarde quarter. Standardes of dyverse cises.

Item, seevyn hoolle tapers of vyrgyn's waxe. Tapers of virgin's waxe.

KYCHEN STUFFE.

Fyrste, a rounde broche, withe a paire of rackis to the same, one fyre panne, one fyre forke, one paire of smalle aundeyeron, one brasse potte of a galon, a brasse panne of three galons, one gredeyeron, and one paire of tonges. A broche withe a paire of rackis, a fyre panne, a fyre forke, a paire smalle aundeyeron, a brasse potte, a brasse pan, a gredeyeron, a paire of tongis.

Item, foure basons of pewter, wherof three large and one smalle.

Item, one flagon of pewter of a pottell.

Item, one chafer of brasse of a galon.

Item, two possenettis of brasse, either of them having a steele, the one of a pottell, and the other of a quarte.

Item, syxe candilstyckes of latten, wherof ij. with prickettes and iiij. withe sockettis.

Item, a ladille of latten.

Item, a skyllette of brasse of a quarte.

Item, a smalle mortar of brasse, withe a broken pestell.

Item, one joyned table of waynescotte, cont' in lengthe ij. yardis with a paire of joyned tristilles to the same.

Item, two juggis of lether.

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 faits pur mon corps appellés en Engle-
 terre *trussynge beddes*, ove les tapites et
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 From the French "*contrepoint*," the back-
 stitch or quilting-stitch."—Cotgrave. Now
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 See the ceremonial of the cup of assay in
 Leland's Collectanea, vol. vi. p. 7. At

the coronation of queen Anne Boleyn, the mayor of London brought a standing-cup of gold set in a cup of assaie of gold; and, after that the Queen had drunk, she gave the mayor the cup, *with the cup of assaie, because there was no cover*, according to the claim of the city.—Stowe's Chronicle. In Hall's Chronicle the word is *leiar*, instead of *cover*; but Stowe's reading is probably right: in a MS. of his, in the British Museum, he has written it *kyear*.

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dagger 3. One of Holbein's designs for a dagger (presented by Henry VIII. to the French ambassador) is engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, 1807, from a drawing formerly presented by Captain Grose to Dr. Ducarel, and since belonging to J. H. Markland, esq. The ornamental portions of another dagger, designed by Holbein, and of a sword, are engraved in Shaw's Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages.

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Damask, gold 26. In 1532 "the Frenche kyng caused two gownes to be made of white velvet, pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and vestes were of frettes of whipped gold of damaske very riche; whiche two gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, praying hym to choose the one, and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly tooke it, and so that Tewesdaie the two kynges were bothe in one suite."—Hall's Chronicle.

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— jewels of, 5. One of the duke's garters was presented to him by cardinal Wolsey: "Item, oone garter of corone golde for my lorde of Richemont poiss. ij oz. the ounce xxxvj s viij d. in money ij l. xij s. iiij d. and for the making of the same xvij s. Sum iiij l. xj s. iiij d."—Gutch's Collectanea Curiosa, vol. ii. p. 321.

glasses, looking 40 : *see* steel glass

gold of damaske, *see* Damask

gorget of gold 5. This was given to the duke by the king. Wolsey had also on one occasion given the little duke a similar ornament, of the kind called a carcanet : "Anno xvj. Item, delivered to my said lorde (cardinal) a karkanett for my lorde of Richemont, poiss. iij oz. iiij penny weights, the oz. xxxv s., the making xx s., in money vj l. xij s. ; and for a hanging perle vj s. viij d., vj l. xvij s. viij d."—Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii. 313.

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lire, pieces of 37. "Lyowre, to bynde wythe precyows clothys, *Ligatorium*."—Prompt. Parv. ; *see* also notes *ib*.

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 band, Treasure of the French Tongue. In
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 Privy-purse Expenses, p. 48.
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 —Palsgrave.
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tion—large rooms. "In 1532 in the church of Bulleyne was a traverse, set up for the Frenche kyng, open on every side, saving it was siled (ceiled) with velvet, embraudered with flower de lices of golde; the pillars were hanged with the same worke. On the Frenche kynges right hand was another traverse, siled and cortened, all of white satten, embraudered with cables cast of cut cloth of gold, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that mariners cast their ropes: this traverse was valanced of like worke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their masses in these traverses." For the same purpose in St. Mary's church, at Calais, were set two traverses; "the one for the Frenche kyng was of erimosyn velvet replenished with great roses of massy bullion of fine gold, and the seede of the said roses were greates orient pearls, and about every rose was a wrethe, al of pearle and stone, which traverse was much wondered at by the Frenchemen; the other traverse, of blew velvet and cloth of tissue, raised with flowers of silver paned, al the blew velvet was embrodered with knottes, and subtile draughtes of leaves and braunches, that fewe men could judge the cunnyng of the workmanship."—Hall's Chronicle, 1548.

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of saye, serge, or stuff to make curtains for beds with."—Florio. The term became technically applied to a short dependent curtain, or the border of one.

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whistle of gold 5. This was, no doubt, the duke of Richmond's official badge as lord admiral. At the landing of Anne of Cleves, in 1539, the earl of Southampton, then lord admiral, "was dressed in a coat of purple velvet, cut on cloth of gold, and tied with aiglettes and trefoils of gold to the number of four hundred; and baldrick-wise he wore a chain, at which hung a whistle of gold, set with riche stones of great value." See further Sir H. Nicolas's notes to the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 362.

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